GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

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JOURNALISTS, SCIENTISTS, WRITERS, AND POLITICIANS
FROM BOTH GERMAN STATES DISCUSS
A PEACE TREATY FOR GERMANY

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The conviction is steadily growing in the whole world that the unsolved problems of world politics can and should be solved only by peaceful means. Even by the most fervent advocates of the cold war the awareness is emerging of the fact that in the past years power has shifted to the advantage of the socialist camp. For this reason it is advisable to negotiate and not to look for solutions by force which in any case the peace-loving peoples will prevent.

The significance of foreign policy and international relations as a whole have grown steadily. The demand for peaceful coexistence of the peoples and for abolishing the remains of colonial oppression in Africa, South America, and elsewhere are becoming more pressing. For this reason the "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" agrees that it is necessary to expand its reading public through an English language edition. Our periodical, which discusses important foreign policy problems, and whose task is the study of international relations and the contemporary questions of international law, presents the essence of the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic. In this way the humanist principles of democracy, of people's friendship and peace become available to a larger reading public.

Therefore we appeal to all scientists and journalists, theoreticans and others who are concerned with foreign policy problems and ask them to work with us and to help fulfill our task, in the interest of peace and not least the reunification of Germany.

The Editor

A Peace Treaty is Necessary and Cannot be Postponed

by PAUL WANDEL
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Much has been written and said about the necessity and urgency of a peace treaty with Germany. It becomes more and more apparent that the absence of a peace treaty is a great disadvantage to the maintenance of peace and the security of the peoples. Owing to West German militarism strengthening its position and more and more unrestrainedly advancing its revanchist claims, the threat to peace is continuously increasing. To check this dangerous development is the first and decisive task of a German peace treaty.

For years, the governments of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic, supported by the other Socialist countries, have been making determined and emphatic efforts to bring about a peace treaty with both German states. Two years ago, at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers, the delegates of the USSR and GDR drew attention to the problem of a peace treaty and its solution. But still the Soviet Union is the only one of the Big Four of the anti-Hitler coalition who submitted a draft peace treaty to the international public and who is sincerely and insistently struggling for its conclusion.

The solution of the question of a peace treaty is also resisted especially by the German militarists in the Bonn government who are continually delaying the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and would like to prevent it for ever, so as to be undisturbed in continuing atomic armament of the West German army and further pursuing their revanchist plans.

But neither the West German government nor the Western Powers will succeed in deleting the question of concluding a peace treaty from the agenda of world politics. More and more people in Germany and abroad convince themselves of its expediency, necessity and urgency.

Even the strongest opponents of a peace treaty, the advocates of German militarism in West Germany, are forced to resort to manoeuvres. They are now beginning to talk frequently of a peace treaty, but only in order to prevent its conclusion and falsify its aims. *Adenauer,* for instance, declared at a press conference in Bonn on March 10th, 1961, that the issue of a peace treaty was to "restore personal freedom" to the people in the German Democratic Republic.

Herr *Adenauer* need not worry about the freedom of the people in our Republic. If the West German people had the same freedom to decide for themselves all vital questions of the nation, as it is the case in the German Democratic Republic, there would no longer be any threat to peace arising from the West German militarists. The liberation of the people from the rule of militarists and revanchists, which has still not been accomplished in West Germany but secured forever in the German Democratic Republic, that is the main issue of the peace treaty which the Bonn chancellor is trying to conceal for obvious reasons.

In the May 20th, 1961 issue the Hamburg paper "Die Welt", an important contribution was made to bring light onto that question, though its intention was quite different. After trying in vain, to construct a difference between the aims of

the German Democratic Republic and those of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the question of a peace treaty, the paper wrote:

"... to the Soviets ... to put it simply, it is a question of Foertsch *and* Heusinger, *of* Ruge *and* Strauss. *To them it is a question of security ..."*

Indeed, we can only affirm this somewhat involuntary acknowledgement made by "Die Welt". And it is actually not difficult to find these ideas, just in that sense, in the documents and statements of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on the question of a peace treaty. Yes, it is true, to us, that is to say, to all those interested in an early conclusion of the peace treaty, in the first place it is indeed a question of *Foertsch* and *Heusinger, Speidel* and *Strauss* and actually of that whole gang of West German militarists who have not learnt from the past and who are preparing for new aggressions. Our main object in concluding a peace treaty is to put a stop to the murderous practices of the initiators of two World Wars, who are now preparing for a third one. The issue is, to put it in a nutshell, to prevent that another war will be unleashed from German soil.

The Soviet paper "Izvestiya" hit the nail on the head by writing in April 1961 in an article on the problem of a German peace treaty which rightly drew attention in all parts of the world:

"Life itself impels the statesmen to choose between the alternatives: either a German peace treaty will be concluded or the logic of events will lead to further aggravation of the danger of new military conflicts, a third possibility does not exist ...

"No sensible politician will be able to close his ears to the voice of common sense while on the Rhine militarism and revanchism are challenging the world by raising their impudent voice, while the atmosphere of international relations is being poisoned and Europe is facing an abyss of new catastrophes because there is no peace treaty and the question of West Berlin is unsolved ..."

By acknowledging these facts people will feel more and more sure that a peace treaty will be of great advantage to the overwhelming majority of humanity, that nobody, with the exception of a small gang of warmongers and war profiteers, will loose by its conclusion.

The consequence of this fundamental konwledge is that the conclusion of a peace treaty is not only the concern of the German people but the concern of all nations whose existence is threatened by West German militarism and revanchism. Who can still deny the danger arising from German militarism not only threatening the peoples of Eastern Europe who freed themselves from the fetters of imperialist rule, but particularly the West European nations? Is not the danger growing continously for the peoples of Western Europe to be dawn into a war unleashed by the Hitlerite generals in West Germany who are gaining a dominating role in the command of NATO? Systematically and unscrupulously the ruling circles in West Germany are preparing to drag the West European peoples into their revanchist adventure of war. They are setting up their military bases in the West European countries and striving, by means of their "Integration Policy" – this new edition of the nazi "New Order of Europe" – to tie these states closer than ever to militarist and revanchist West Germany und to establish their predominance over them. Bonn War Minister *Strauss* himself openly declared:

"If any military operations occur in Germany, these will involve nine Western countries." ("Daily Mail" of October 14th, 1960.)

The atom-warmongering speeches of *Strauss* and *Adenauer,* delivered during the past weeks should pierce the ears of the peoples in the NATO countries like a stirring alarm.

If the West German government had it their way, there would not be a peace treaty. That is the whole meaning of their demand for postponing the conclusion of a peace treaty until German re-unification which is in fact prevented precisely by the absence of a peace treaty. It is not only the conclusion of a peace treaty that the Bonn government resists but, at the same time, they refuse to negotiate with the German Democratic Republic, which is the only possible way to achieve re-unification. Opposed to this attitude of leading West German circles the Government of the German Democratic Republic is of the opinion that a peace treaty with both German states must be concluded soon. Any further delay, such as making at peace treaty dependent on the solution of other controversial issues, increases the danger to peace and blocks the way to re-unification. True, the Soviet Union, the US, Great Britain and France, in fulfilment of their common decisions, are obliged to ensure that peace should not be threatened again from German soil. This applies particularly to the conclusion of a peace treaty. The Germans, however, cannot leave the question of concluding a peace treaty to other states and peoples to decide. We can only talk of true self-determination if it is practised in this basic question of the life and future of Germany.

Since the main opponents of a peace treaty are in West Germany in the form of the German militarists, it is the most urgent task of all Germans interested in the maintenance of peace to express their unmistakable will for peace by forcing the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states with the aid of political actions and struggle against the deadly enemies of peace and the nation. Nobody can relieve the German people of this task. It is a task for all strata of the German people who must join forces to bring about a solution of this vital problem.

It is possible to unify all peace-loving forces in the struggle for the conclusion of a peace treaty because in Germany in particular, no one could loose anything by a peace treaty with the exception of a small group of incorrigible nazis, militarists and revanchists, but all would gain by its conclusion and fulfilment.

The peaceful future of the German nation, as is desired by the overwhelming majority of the German people, would be safeguarded, since this would check and defeat the forces threatening peace. German militarism would be barred from new conquests, revanchism deprived of its roots. The peace treaty guarantees a free advance of peaceful economy und unhampered trade in all directions and with all countries. This is also in the interest of large sections of the West German bourgeoisie whose property and lives are threatened by the German militarists' aggressive policy, and not by a ficticious "communist danger" from the East.

West German youth would no longer be submited to a militarist drill by faczist officers. Their future would be a better life and not a common grave. A peaceful development in Germany and an equal international status of Germany would add to the reputation of the German nation in the whole world. The peace treaty would be a blow to the real enemies of democracy, to the German militarists, it

would ensure the extension of the people's civil rights and real self-determination for all Germans. To all patriots, the peace treaty would pave the way towards overcoming the split and disunity of the German nation and would make possible close co-operation between the two German states.

The peace treaty would also accelerate the peaceful solution of the West Berlin problem. It would create conditions enabling West Berlin to abandon its notorious and disastrous role as a front city of the cold war, as a permanent source of trouble and dangerous provocations and secure for the West Berlin citizens a quiet life, lasting peace, free communications and free trade with all countries and self-determination for their system of social life. All these consequences which would be brought about by the conclusion of a peace treaty are in the interest of the entire German nation.

The leadership of the German Democratic Republic proved in the "People's Plan for Germany" that the decisive factor for creating peaceful conditions for the nation is unity of the working class. They stressed again and again that they are prepared to reach a political compromise with all those sections of the West German bourgeoisie interested in peace and the nation and willing to come to an understanding, a compromise that would contribute to a relaxation of tension and the preservation of peace.

It is a chance for the West German bourgeoisie that they should not fail to observe, but also a serious warning they should not fail to hear. The Soviet government, in its memorandum of February 17th, 1961, states its resoluteness to come to a peaceful settlement of the German question by negotiation with the Bonn government, and it declared that it now depends on the West German government, and thus also on the sections of the population it represents, whether this priority question of a peace treaty will be settled within a short period with the participation of the Federal Republic or not.

Alarmed by the Adenauer government's stubborn attitude the number of West German bourgeois is growing who demand that influential West German circles should declare their readiness for peace negotiations and also submit proposals of their own. Such a view was recently expressed by FDP Deputy Dr. *Achenbach.* Similar views were expressed by other representatives of the West German bourgeoisie stating that they expected "realistic proposals for a settlement of the German question" from *Adenauer* and his government. These circles voice their growing concern that the Federal Republic will „get into a peculiar position in the world" if Bonn keeps refusing to negotiate on the conclusion of a peace treaty, as it was recently stated by a well-known FDP politician.

It is therefore alarming and a disgrace that right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in West Germany, who betrayed their own Germany Plan, lend unlimited support to Adenauer's policy, specially concerning the urgent question of a peace treaty. It is almost humiliating that the critical remarks of an African politician – *Sylvano Olympio,* President of Togo – were needed to cause *Willy Brandt,* as he said himself at a press conference in Bonn on May 16th, 1961, to explain his views of the peace treaty. He mentioned that the West would have to *"get used to the idea of discussing the proposals for a peace treaty"*. But his further statements showed that the only thing the representative of right-wing Social-

Democracy has got used to was the notorious "Packet Plan" of American Secretary of State Herter.

Surrender to American and West German monopoly capital in the basic question of the nation, that is the bankrupt programme announced by the right-wing leaders of West German Social-Democrats on this issue too. Their blind anti-communism and an equally blind and stupid hostility against the first German Workers' and Farmers' State, the German Democratic Republic, deprives them of any sound estimation of the true interests of the nation, even for those of their own party. There can be no doubt that such a policy can only lead to political defeat in the coming elections. What would be really vital for West Germany – and that should be recognized particularly by a party pretending to look after the interests of the working people – is a policy directed against the criminal plans and actions of West German militarists in all basic questions in connection with the preservation of peace and thereby also, first and foremost, the question of a peace treaty with both German states.

Those who stand for a peace treaty with the two German states, stand for the realities of life and the future and only they have the prospect of a grand future, in connection with the people and the nation.

It would be a grave mistake to ignore the dangers threatening today from the West German militarists. The same applies to their obstruction of a peace treaty with both German states which gives the West German militarists every reason to be afraid. The period ahead will show whether we succeed in breaking their resistance in West Germany. But one thing can already be stated quite clearly: the question of a peace treaty is more than overripe. It will be concluded with both German states if they agree to it or, in case the Bonn militarists should continue to prevent a peace treaty with both German states, with only one of them, the German Democratic Republic who has repeatedly declared its readiness and by taking the initiative makes every effort for the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The prevention of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, however, is not in the power of the German militarists, their allies or stooges.

The Hamburg paper "Die Welt" published on May 20th, 1961, an article on the German peace treaty that was previously quoted and which bare the headline "Ulbricht Must Wait for his Peace". This is an erroneous conception altogether. The bourgeois writers of this article do not base their thoughts on realities but on their own wishful thinking. As they did in previous articles entitled "Walter Ulbricht and the Nation", the bourgeois journalists state one truth: the fact that the most determined advocates of German national interests are the representatives of the German Democratic Republic who are also the most progressive forces in the whole German working class and among the peaceful and patriotic forces of our nation.

If "Die Welt", however, as the organ of the militarist circles of the West German bourgeoisie assumes in its article that its Government has the power to delay the conclusion of a peace treaty, it is badly mistaken. The general advice to pay more attention to realities and draw the appropriate conclusions for their own policy will save them from a shock that is bound to come in the future, unless they themselves show more understanding and draw the appropriate conclusions in

their own policy. The reactionary forces in West Germany will not be able to reverse history nor stop progress, and that applies to the question of a peace treaty also. If the February Memorandum of the Soviet Government was not warning enough they should give heed to the words af "Pravda" written on May 31st, 1961:

"Regardless of how much the opponents of a peace treaty might struggle against it, such a treaty will be concluded, for it is a demand of life itself, the priority task No. 1."

The peace-loving forces in the whole of Germany and in the whole world will pave the way to a peace treaty. This vital problem that so urgently needs a solution and cannot be postponed. It will be solved. The words of *Walter Ulbricht*, Chairman of the GDR State Council, will become reality:

"We shall make sure that the peace treaty will remain on the agenda until this question is solved in the interest of peace and the future of the German nation."

This statement contains no threat. It shows firm confidence in the future and the determined will to come to an early and peaceful solution of the German problem in the interest of the German people and of all other peoples. The contents of the peace treaty, its conclusion and implementation serve the realization of peaceful co-existence among states of different social systems.

In his recent meeting with American President *Kennedy* in Vienna, *N. S. Khrushchow*, Prime Minister of the USSR, once more emphasized the necessity and urgency of concluding a peace treaty.

Apart from a memorandum on the question of ending nuclear tests, Soviet Prime Minister *Khrushchov* handed the American President a memorandum concerning a peace treaty with Germany and the settlement of the West Berlin problem, attesting the will of the Soviet Union to find a solution to this question which makes allowances for the justified interests of all parties concerned.

The Soviet Union proposes convening a peace conference to draft a peace treaty with the two German states which can no longer be postponed so that at last such a treaty can be concluded, the West Berlin problem settled and in this way lasting peace secured for Germany and Europe. The USSR shows a maximum of good will and makes far-reaching concessions. The Soviet proposal also states that, in case some of the Governments do not wish to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the States of the Anti-Hitler Coalition could conclude separate peace treaties based on the same principles, according to their own discretion, either with the Federal Republic or with the German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet proposals offer the German people a chance to look after their own interests in the peace settlement as it has in the past never been possible for any nation to do so after such a complete military defeat. Based on its confidence in the peace-loving forces of the German people, the Soviet Government proposes that the Four-Powers should previously acknowledge any understanding between representatives of the two German states that might be concluded in connection with questions of a peace treaty and re-unification.

To make use of this great national chance the State Council and People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, called on the West German Government

to give their consent for the beginning of negotiations between representatives of both German Governments and Parliaments dealing with a peace settlement and questions of re-unification.

In his speech to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic of July 6th, 1961, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, explained the German Peace Plan containing the proposals of the German Democratic Republic for a joint German point of view on the conclusion of peace treaty. The main object of these proposals is to prevent for ever war originating from Germany and to secure a lasting peace and full equality in the family of nations for the German people.

Both German states are to undertake the obligation of renouncing any threat of force or use of force in their relations. They are to advocate the creation of a militarily neutral Germany whose neutrality will be respected and guaranteed by the Big Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Both German states are to reject atomic armament and ban any war and revenge policies on their territories. The existing German frontiers are to be confirmed as final.

A peace treaty on this basis would be a great contribution towards world peace. It would also dicisively contribute to rapprochement and re-unification of the two German states.

The West German cold war warriors and their friends in the US are doing all they can to discredit the honest efforts of the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union to bring about a relaxation of tension and the rapid conclusion of peace treaty either with both German states or, if in spite of their sincere and intensive endeavours this cannot be realized, with the German Democratic Republic alone. But with all their distortions and manoeuvres, they cannot obliterate the historical fact that the conclusion of a peace treaty, even if only with the German Demokratic Republic, will be a step towards rapprochement and an international relaxation of tension.

It would be an important contribution to peace and the beginning of a peaceful solution to the German problem for the entire German people and for all peoples interested in peace in Europe and in the world.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 7, 1961)

The Fiction of the "Non-Existence" of the GDR Cannot be Maintained

by KURT WUENSCHE *

Why does the Bonn Government and why do leaders of the German Socialist Party and Trade Unions so obstinately maintain the fiction, that the German Democratic Republic does not exist? This question is asked by more and more visitors to the GDR from capitalist and other countries, who are able to see for themselves that the political existence of the GDR has been consolidated. Nobody who thinks along realistic political lines can fail to realize that there are two German states existing which are real and legally indisputable, and which have entirely different political conceptions, social systems and international alliances. Since this is so, there can be no other way to their peaceful national reunification, but by gradual approach, based on peaceful co-existence. This presupposes that both states recognize each other as existing states.

The rejection of this approach is obviously an open assertion that the "solution" of the German question cannot be achieved by peaceful means. The government of the West German Federal Republic and political circles around it have already made this assertion hundreds of times. This is proved decisively by the fate of all the proposals – more than one hundred of them – submitted by the GDR to the West German state.[1] These were as far reaching as possible and proved any amount of readiness to compromise for an understanding between the two German states, but they were all left unanswered and consequently there are no counter-proposals. No authority or statesman of the GDR has ever demanded, as a prerequisite for understanding and rapprochement between the two German states, the transfer of the social conditions prevailing in the GDR to the Federal Republic. On the contrary, there are many declarations of the GDR, which exclude this in express terms. However there are innumerable statements of responsible West German politicians, which make it quite clear that the aim of Bonn policy is to transfer the capitalist system to the GDR by force.

Dr. *Adenauer* has stressed over and over again before the Federal Parliament and in other places, that it is not a matter of the reunification of Germany, but of the "liberation of the Eastern Zone". The President of the Federal Parliament, Herr *Gerstenmaier,* also declared at the Party Conference of the CDU, held in April 1961 in Cologne:

"Reunification is out of the question unless the whole of Germany gets the same constitution as the Federal Republic and the whole of Germany has become an integral part of the European community."

Freiherr zu Guttenberg, CDU Member of Parliament stated even more openly on April 24, 1961, that the liquidation of the GDR is the aim of the Bonn policy, when he said at the "Burschenschaftliche Woche 1961" in Jugendburg Ludwigstein:

* The author is Secretary of the Central Council of the LDPD (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany) and Member of the Parliament.

1 See: Proposals of the GDR for the conciliation of the two German states – 1949 to 1960 (chronological documentation), Berlin 1961.

"The end of the GDR regime without compromise has to be the aim and the charge of foreign policy."[2]

Aggressive circles in the USA stand behind these insane ideas, as can be seen by the statement, a short while ago by the representative of the USA Government for NATO questions in Cologne, the opinion of whom was, that Germany should be considered as a safety dam at the border of the Western World, and Western Europe must not only include within its borders *a part,* but *the whole* of Germany.[3]

Most of West German newspapers try to get the citizens of the Federal Republic thinking along the lines of "liberation", as though the "taking over of power" in the GDR by the Adenauer regime were imminent. As the "Frankfurter Rundschau" said on May 5, 1961:

"The kind of problems confronting us after X day (after the day of the planned "taking over of power" K. W.) *have been investigated in many and various directions by institutes and organisations . . . But there is no investigation about the question as to how one intends to carry out the great discussion with the people who held responsible political offices in the GDR."*

There are also thousands of proofs that "liberation" would not stop at the Oder-Neisse-border. Bonn Minister *Seebohm* declared at a revanchist meeting in Aschaffenburg on October 9, 1960:

"Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union should not by any means hope that we have written off the territory beyond the Oder and Neisse. It is a matter of the liberation of all peoples in Central and Eastern Europe and the extension of the Christian Occident to the whole of Eastern Europe. But this must be done soon."[4]

These and other demands are not rash ideas of individual political hotspurs; they are supplemented openly by "Blitzkrieg" plans against the GDR which were revealed at the beginning of 1960. These plans now as ever are the basis for all manoevres of the Federal Army and, as high West German officers have stated, aim *"at being on the Oder through a 'Blitz' invasion of the GDR, before the People's Army and other troops have recovered their wit"*, in order to face the world with an accomplished fact and to gain a new starting point for the realisation of their demands for revenge against the People's Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia to begin with.[5]

These plans, now brought up to date speculations over the increased "conventional" arming of the Federal Army, show the inability of German imperialism and militarism to assess the proportion of forces in the world realistically. This inability has been proved several times in our century. But this does not make their plans any less dangerous. On the contrary, the attempt to realize these plans would be the beginning of the most terrible slaughter of the peoples in all history. This

[2] "Frankfurter Rundschau", Frankfurt/Main, of 28th April 1961.

[3] "Die Welt", Hamburg, of 24th April 1961.

[4] "Neues Deutschland", Berlin, of 20th October 1960.

[5] "Neues Deutschland", of 14th February 1960.

demonstrates the peoples and governments of Europe and the world, that the question of how the German problem is to be solved has become for them a question of vital importance. It would be a disastrous fallacy to conclude that there is no acute danger at the moment, because some West German politicians assess the relationship of forces a bit more realistically and who for the present will be "satisfied" with acceptance of the division. Unless there are at least some first steps towards a peaceful solution of the German question, there will be an undiminished and highly explosive situation in the heart of Europe.

Apart from modifications, which are certainly possible, the only concept corresponding with the vital interests of the German people and all peoples is that proposed by the GDR. This is for the peaceful reunification of Germany by means of the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states and by means of a German confederation.

There are increasing signs that there is a growing understanding of this in West Germany and elsewhere. There are many examples of representatives of the working class in West Germany, conscious of their responsibilities, who have long supported the proposals of the GDR for the ending of the war danger in Germany, and for national unification by peaceful and democratic means. For this they are ever more severely persecuted by the Adenauer regime and the right wing SPD leadership. This movement is not a matter of "actions by coummunist individuals" or the "results of communist infiltration" as the Bonn Government asserts so often. During the past years more and more clear-headed representatives of the West German middle class have come to support a sane policy in Germany.

Among the main demands of the "Fränkischer Kreis"; a West German association of members of intellectual professions, is:

"Recognition of peaceful coexistence;
Negotiations about a peace treaty . . . , at which both German states are represented by a joint committee;
Formation of a German confederation with the aim of normalizing domestic German relations, the removal of a dangerous source of crises in the world and preparations for German reunification."[6]

Similar demands are also raised by other patriotic associations of the middle class such as the "Deutscher Club 1954".

The "Deutsche Friedensunion", established in December 1960 and including many distinguished representatives of West German middle class, also demands in its programme:

"We want a policy of relaxation of tension and conciliation. Therefore we, as Germans, demand negotiations between the two German states about the decrease of arms as well as about a contractual obligation to renounce the employment of any force in solving the problem of German unification."[7]

In articles and readers' letters in numerous publications, more and more middle class individuals are expressing similar opinions. Characteristic is an article by

6 "Die Information" – paper of the "Fränkischer Kreis", Würzburg, 1/1959, page 51.
7 "bdd-Informationen", Düsseldorf, No. 55 of 21th December 1960.

Professor Dr. *Harold Rasch,* who writes this about the possibilities of closer economic relations between the two German states:

"One can and has to speak and negotiate about these and many other possibilities for an improvement of the relationship between the Federal Republic and the GDR. But this, of course, presupposes that one recognizes one's partner for negotiations as such and does mot demand that he gives himself up beforehand." Another point made in this article is:

"It is necessary to have a clear perception of existing circumstances and to be determined to shape the future. If we do this we shall not be able to avoid recognition of the GDR and taking up political relations with that country. The most difficult, but also the most important post which the Federal Government will have to bestow one day, will be that of a West German Ambassador in East Berlin."[8]

All these demands, opinions and thoughts come from middle class peoples who often, like Professor Dr. *Rasch,* are declared opponents of Socialism and Communism. Therefore they do not hold their views because they sympathize with the Socialist system in the GDR, but their motives are of a different and very varied kind. Often they start from economic considerations, which lead them to the political conclusion that there must be normal political relations between the two German states, because only such relations are a solid basis for close economic relations. Many, by no means insignificant enterprises in West Germany, depend on such relations. This was proved beyond doubt by the massive protests of leading West German economic circles against breaking off the inner German trade agreement by the Bonn Government in autumn 1960. The withdrawal of that action can be attributed among other things to these protests.

At this years' Leipzig Spring Fair, in contrast to former years I did not meet one single West German businessman who, during personal talks or official events, would not have recognized the existence of two German states and the necessity for their conciliation.

The ideas of these businessmen and specially of many West German middle class intellectuals are last but not least based on national consciousness, which cannot always be clearly defined in its roots and aims. Emotionally or consciously they resist endangering the existence of the nation through war or the perpetration of the division. They take the view, that it is better to negotiate.

The reality of the existence of two states is legally supported by leading West Germans. In the compendium "Deutsches Staatsrecht" by Professor Dr. *Maunz,* regarded as the standard work on political law in West Germany, the origin, growth and structure of the two German states are examined with results opposite to those on which Bonn policy rests. Professor Dr. *Maunz,* who is Minister for Teaching and Education in Bavaria arrives at the following conclusion:

"The weakness of the identity theory (which means the theory which in its basic tendency is an aggressive one, that the Federal Republic is identical with the former German Reich and that there is no second German state outside the Federal Republic, but only 'German territory which is withheld from the Federal

[8] "Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik", Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, Köln, No. 5/1961, page 420 et seq.

Republic' – K. W.) *consists in the fact, that it is difficult for this to explain the existence of the GDR as a fact and as a legal process and also does not comment that this Republic has also been recognized as a state by other states, and has also drawn up agreements according to International law.*"[9]

Other noted West German law experts, such as Professor Dr. *Menzel* of Kiel, arrive at the same results. Similar considerations have obviously led even the Vice President of the West German Federal Parliament, Dr. *Thomas Dehler* (FDP), to touch on this most delicate question in various speeches and publications at the beginning of this year. For instance he stated at the 9th Conference of the "Deutsche Burschenschaften", which took place in the first week of January in West Berlin, that two states had arisen in Germany since the war and that all denials of this were insignificant as far as international and political law were concerned. He further stated that the Bonn policy of one sided obligation, of inflexibility and lack of ideas have rendered the way towards German unity more and more difficult."[10]

Dr. *Dehler* carefully avoided drawing conclusions in the sense of the proposals of the GDR from this understanding of the realities, but on the contrary doubted the democratic legality of the GDR. Still he was heavily attacked and slandered by Bonn Government politicians and some newspapers. The Bonn Minister for Family and Youth questions *Wuermeling* demanded criminal prosecution of the Vice President of the Federal Parliament and his resignation from office. His own party leadership under the chairmanship of Dr. *Erich Mende* does everything possible to please the Adenauer Government, because of their declared desire, again to form a government coalition with the CDU CSU after the elections for the Federal Parliament this year. Consequently Dr. *Dehler* was forced to retreat to restricted "interpretations" of his ideas as quoted above.

The same Dr. *Mende* may not want to recall today that he himself signed an official communiqué after talks between representatives of the Federal Council of the FDP and the Central Council of the LDPD in autumn 1956 in Weimar, saying that reunification was mainly a concern of the Germans themselves. Dr. *Mende* at that time preened himself as one of the creators of the FDP "Plan for Germany".[11] That plan at least showed a modest start towards the existence of two German states and its consequences. Today Dr. *Mende* has thrown this oberboard just as the SPD their German Plan. All the same Dr. *Mende* declared a short time ago almost bashfully, that though the German Plan of the FDP still existed, it had only "academic significance" now. This demagogy shows how unpopular – mainly owing to the steady political and economic growth of the GDR – the denial of existing realities in Germany has become in West Germany.

Experiences very similar to those of Dr. *Dehler* also fell to Dr. *Achenbach*, also an FDP member of the Federal Parliament and foreign policy expert of the FDP.

[9] Prof. Dr. Theodor Maunz: "Deutsches Staatsrecht", C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich and Berlin 1952.

[10] "Suddeutsche Zeitung", Stuttgart of 7th and 8th January 1961 and 21st and 22nd January 1961.

[11] "Das Freie Wort", Bonn, 13/1959.

Last year he declared in the Federal Parliament and in meetings of his party, that the thesis that one could not negotiate with the Government of the GDR could not be upheld for ever and that anyone who was in favour of a peaceful reunification, would also have to be prepared to negotiate. These observations were refuted or arbitrarily interpreted by the chairman of his party, and the CDU Member of Parliament *Majonica* declared at the CDU Party Congress mentioned above:

"It is high time for the FDP to withdraw Dehler and Achenbach from the line of foreign policy."

Such things cast an interesting light on the progressive cutback of middle class democratic rights and freedom in the Bonn state in general and on methods of corrupting whole leaderships of parties by the Adenauer regime. Curiously the leadership of the FDP a short while ago attacked *Adenauer* for speaking at a press conference about the GDR and the "Soviet Zone", calling people leaving the GDR "emigrants". Obviously one can only emigrate from one state into another. This inspired the official Party Press Service of the FDP to write an article with the headline "Bonn also in favour of the theory of two states?"[12]

The whole dilemma of the Bonn fiction of the non-existence of the GDR shows itself at every point, and in spite of all efforts, threats and reprisals it becomes more and more difficult to maintain in view of existing realities. This inspired the declaration of the SPD candidate for the Chancellorship, *Willy Brandt,* at the Bonn election congress of the SPD on April 1961, 28 th. He said:

"We shall check any attempt to incorporate the theory of two states into our way of thinking."[13]

However, that will not prevent the reality of two states influencing the thinking of widening circles of the West German people in all walks of life.

Many West German citizens, however, are not yet able to draw a clear conclusion from the reality which they recognize. They are still looking for a way out and they often find it only hesitantly. Their hesitancy is based on doubts about the honesty of the conciliating proposals of the GDR. And these doubts are often based on anti-Communist feelings, the deepening of which is the chief interest of Bonn propaganda in an almost exact continuation of fascist anti-Bolshevism. But hesitancy and doubts are being gradually overcome by the recognition that socialism needs nothing more urgently than peace for its development and that just for that reason, no danger of war and no aggression can start from the Socialist camp, of which the GDR is firmly a part. This has been realized even by the American warmonger *William S. Schlamm* and forms the basis for his theory of a "preventive war" to counter the peaceful victory of Socialism.

Many West German people are not convinced that an unpeaceful solution of the political problems is opposed diametrically to the humanistic character of Socialism, and still believe that the GDR wants to transfer its social order into West Germany by force. They should consider that we in the GDR are able to draw the simple reverse conclusion: If we say that any attempt at a violant transfer of the social

[12] "Freie Demokratische Korrespondenz", Bonn, No. 12/20 of 14th March 1961.
[13] "Neues Deutschland", of 11th May 1961.

order of the Federal Republic into the GDR means war, then we know that the reverse attempt would mean the same thing. What we want is nothing but this:

1. Peaceful coexistence between the Socialist GDR and the monopoly-capitalist Federal Republic within the framework of a confederation – secured by the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with both German states.

2. Within this confederation, peaceful competition between the two social orders in Germany.

3. As the result of this competition the unification of the two German states, in the course of which the citizens of West Germany will recognize the Socialist social order as the better one.

Every West German who adheres to capitalism and who does not share our certainty about the superiority of Socialism should find it all the more easy to accept the proposals made by the GDR. Everyone who wants a quick and final solution of the national question and considers that these proposals do not go far enough, should appreciate that there is only one alternative. That is that one German state demands the surrender of the other. This is as unreal as it is dangerous. But in any case, every West German who still doubts the honesty of the GDR's proposals should emphatically and continually demand, that the Bonn Government test this honesty.

It was comprehensible and correct of the Chairman of the Marburg group of the West German Liberal Student's Association *Klaus Horn,* to declare during the traditional East-West Fair discussions of the LDPD at the Leipzig Spring Fair this year:

> *"I do not know whether all efforts coming from the GDR are always meant honestly. But I always say to my party friends: Let us examine this by discussing it with representatives of the GDR. Let these people speak their minds. But nothing has been done from the West German side in this respect. Obviously one shrinks from these talks."*[14]

How much the Government of Bonn shrinks from these talks, *Horn* experienced himself some months ago. He was the initiator of a meeting of Marburg students with the President of the People's Chamber of the GDR, Dr. *Johannes Dieckmann.* According to the directions of the West German President of the Federal Parliament, Dr. *Gerstenmaier,* to prevent Dr. *Dieckmann* speaking by all means, this meeting was accompanied by monstrous excesses by organised fascist mobs.[15] These evoked great indignation in West Germany and elsewhere not only in Socialist, but also in Western and neutral countries.

The events of Marburg and the manifold other evidence of the danger to peace in Europe and the world arising from the reborn militarism and fascism in West Germany, are noted by political organisations, groups and personalities even in countries which are allied with West Germany. And they encourage their efforts to demand a normalization of the international relations with the GDR for

[14] "Der Morgen", Berlin, of 12th March 1961.

[15] "Marburg – 13th January 1961" (literal minutes), brochure, "Morgen"-Publishing House, Berlin 1961.

various reasons and in spite of, or just because of the Hallstein-Doctrine. This applies not only to the Communist and working class parties, which for a long time and consistently made this demand, but also to strong middle class forces, who do not wish to see their countries involved in a deadly Bonn war adventure one day. They recognize, that the unwavering peace policy, the international position and the economic power of the GDR are factors which have to be taken into account in the world today.

The well known British politician and Conservative Member of the House of Lords, Lord *Boothby,* stated in a much talked of article in the "Sunday Dispatch" of March 12, 1961, on occasion of a visit to the Leipzig Spring Fair, that he angrily returned from Leipzig. They had told him, that he would see the greatest exhibition of its kind in the world, but he did not believe it. He found it to be true. After Leipzig he knew, that there were unprecedented opportunities to show British goods and to extend British trade, which industrialists fortunately already seize with both hands. But the Government did not have anything to do with it. Apparently it wished to turn a blind eye onto the realities. According to his opinion time has come to realize the fact that there are two German states. He considered the assertion, that the GDR does not exist to be as idiotic as the assertion that the Government of China is situated on Formosa.[16]

Lord *Boothby* did not only make statements. A short time afterwards he founded a new organisation, which was joined by parliamentarians of various parties. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" says very worriedly about the aim of this organisation:

"Its primarily interest is trade and its pressure on the Government is mainly directed towards its promotion through political relations on a Government level, consequently through a 'de facto' recognition of the regime in the zone. For this campaign Lord Boothby *does not only dispose of the new organisation, but also the millions of viewers and listeners of the commercial T. V., of which he is one of the main stars, and the millions of readers of the popular paper "Sunday Dispatch" for which he regularly writes."*[17]

The "Frankfurter Rundschau" writes no less worried comments on the results of the 12th German-English discussion in Königswinter, where about fifty British and a hundred West German politicians, economists and journalists took part:

"The fact that not only Labour Members of Parliament, but also Conservatives, like the Private Secretary of the British Minister for Education, van Straubenzee, *hinted that the fruitlessness of Western policy hitherto obviously made it unavoidable to confirm the existence of the East Berlin Regime, produced some surprise ... The problem of the existence of two German states also played a special role in the working group on the policy of the Western world in the United Nations. British participants, in spite of German hesitation, pleaded for the admission of the Federal Republic and the GDR to the United Nations."*[18]

Listing of well known British personalities who speak for the recognition of the GDR by Great Britain could be continued for a long time. They include the prominent Conservative politician Lord *Hinchingbrook,* the former Minister for

[16] "Neues Deutschland", of 15th March 1961.

[17] "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", Frankfurt/Main, of 30th March 1961.

[18] "Frankfurter Rundschau", Frankfurt/Main, of 13th May 1961.

Defence *Emanuel Shinwell,* and Field Marshal *Montgomery.* Everywhere in the world, even in the United States, similar demands are raised.

Not only demands, but facts too put the Hallstein Doctrine more and more in retreat. The exchange of diplomatic representations is actually only one phenomenon of mutual political recognition. The conclusion of international treaties and participation in international conferences belong to the so-called conclusive actions, which – according to internatinal law – are to be regarded as tacit recognition. In spite of all distortions of fact, the Western powers for instance have recognized the GDR by a conclusive action through their participation at the conference of Foreign Ministers in Geneva in the summer of 1959.

Also the conclusion of trade agreements on government level between the GDR an 17 capitalist states is tantamount to recognition under international law by conclusive action, as far as such recognition is possible, since the old state can recognize the new state according to international law.

The Bonn Government gets into a wholly hopeless situation with the Hallstein-Doctrine specially when the GDR comes to an agreement with other states, which have diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic, as for example to establish consulates-general. The establishment of GDR Consulates-General in Indonesia and Burma was accepted by Bonn with moderate protest. But the Adenauer Government meddled much more openly in the internal affairs of the United Arab Republic when it tried, unsuccessfully, to prevent by open threats the establishment of a second Consulate-General of the GDR in the UAR in Damascus. "Die Welt" was better advised when it wrote at this time:

"The Doctrine was applied to its full extent only in autumn 1957, when the German ambassador was recalled from Yugoslavia. In the case of Damascus, however, one has to take into consideration, that Bonn allowed a precedent, when it put up with a similar situation in Cairo . . . Bonn should handle the Hallstein Doctrine in the case of Damascus as flexibley as possible."[19]

It is quite obvious that the Hallstein Doctrine and the extremely dangerous fiction of the non-existence of the GDR based on it, will end before long on the scrap-heap of history.

If the GDR tries to speed up this process with all its might, it does not only act in the national, but also in the international interest, as has been proved.

The efforts of the GDR to establish normal political, which means also diplomatic relations with all states in the world, are not undertaken for prestige reasons. The GDR is anyhow, even according to existing conceptions of international law, unequivocal subject to international law, and besides this knows very well to value its strength and significance as an important part of the Socialist World System.

Only in such a way is the declaration of the Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, *Walter Ulbricht* to the Diplomatic Corps on the 26th of September, 1960, to be understood. Among other things he said:

[19] "Die Welt", Hamburg, of 13th May 1961.

"It is absolutely necessary to create normal political relations, which means to take up normal political, diplomatic relations next to the trade and cultural relations also with those countries where they do not exist yet ... onesided diplomatic relations with the West German Federal Republic (are) – whether intentionally or not – a support for militarism and a policy of revenge in Western Germany. Thus such states, which talk of the principle of neutrality, violate their principle of neutrality in their attitude towards the two German states."[20]

The sooner therefore the realities, and above all, the growing strength of the GDR and the development of its foreign relations, terminate the fiction about the non-existence of the GDR once and for all, the better for Germany and the world.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 7, 1961)

[20] "Neues Deutschland", Berlin, 27th September 1960.

Journalists, Scientist, Writers and Politicans from both German States discuss a Peace Treaty for Germany

HEINZ DODENHOFF

Bremerhaven

Since the beginning of history after small and big wars peoples always tried to conclude peace treaties. Even if it was bitter for the loser, it did, however, end the still more unbearable state before. Life began anew, and for a while one believed in peace, because the defeated, one thought, had been neutralized for a long period. The search for renewed armed adventures in order to escape from the suppressor's strait-jacket, that was the reason for the evil's constant rebirth, *Schiller* said. Perhaps this spirit was even tolerated by the victor's reflection that the next following war might bring a new and perhaps bigger prize.

And today? Why has a peace treaty not been concluded? Why was there no call for peace from America? And when Moscow first started in that direction why didn't the West support the Soviet voice of peace? And why does one misrepresent now, since the voice of reason has changed to a demand, the idea of a draft peace treaty. As it comes up to the existing facts it cannot be rejected as a whole. Why do those who never issued a single urging and constructive voice, shout the loudest the moment they notice they are losing? They had long believed they had won the final game!

It is difficult to give an answer. Difficult because the answer would have to unveil the lowest instincts of human nature. Unfortunately a thinking person can no longer doubt that forces are in action which aim at exterminating Socialism in a final inferno of brutal force.

Is that why the voice of peace had to be silent? And after it arose it was condemned to silence again by the cold war which created the prerequisites for enforcing the silence. The patience of this peaceloving people is being tested to the limit.

Of course, West German armament cannot consent to a peace treaty because its aim requires arms. We are more or less acquainted with those sinister aims; it is unnecessary to explain them in detail. It is clear that there can be no atomic arms for Germany after the conclusion of a peace treaty. Perhaps, and we hope so, no more arms at all. Therefore this unreasonable, furious haste in every field of West German armament. Therefore also the furious attacks of a war minister against everyone who feels and acts for humanity. To him a renowned scientist such as Nobel Prize Winner *Hahn* is *"an old idiot who cannot sleep at night when he thinks of Hiroshima"*. To him and those like him, everyone who does not think and speak in the language of atomic bombs and rockets is a traitor. Such men as Dr. *Hahn* suffer unbearable by these slanderers. People without a conscience have in their hands the button which could release the world's inferno. Their claim "for defence only" is ridiculous. There is no need of defence. Nobody will attack the German people if it is peaceful!

The armament race must be stopped. Why not begin with *that* nation which caused the unspeakable misery in almost the whole world? Begin with those who have

been trying for a long time to keep silent about it and who know no limit in their feeling of superiority! Who no longer want to be remainded that the criminals are still among us are quietly regenerating the evil. If the military dictatorship is not crushed the catastrophe would be unavoidable.

This catastrophe must be prevented. They may not want a hot war which would destroy them and us. But! A weak moment of a failing mind, a sudden madness arising from the horror of imagining the possiblities in its power, a simple mistake over some event in space might exert the pressure on the button. Or the insanity of a despot devoid of all human feelings.

Viewed from this aspect the possibility of the disintegration of the earth cannot be tolerated one minute longer, because every minute increases the centres of danger and let the responsible people become less responsible. Only then when the sinister game with life and creation has been stopped, could new blessed forces gradually emerge from the devastations of the hearts and brains. And in time the knowledge would dawn upon us that peace had to be enforced for the benefit of mankind. Faith and confidence could take root again in a purer humanity and at last the Garden of Eden on earth would be open for all men of good will. Everyone would be allowed to sow his seed in it: compassion and love – and again love.

Heinz Dodenhoff

KARL ECKERLIN

Cassel

I cannot understand why as a German of the Federal Republic I may not frankly and honestly discuss a proposal made by the German Democratic Republic or the Soviet Union. In this case I refer to the draft for a peace treaty for the whole of Germany and it ought to be of special interest for all German people. Those persecuted by the nazi regime who directly experienced the criminal attitude of that state apparatus and its hangmen are gradually being convinced that we completely missed the chance of erecting sufficient safeguards against the restoration of the horrible conditions which transformed almost the whole of the European world into chaos. I will refrain from mentioning the dreadful crimes which are brought to mind by the *Eichmann* trial. Neither shall be discussed the huge territorial claims of those responsible for the First and Second World War, although a reminder would certainly not be irrelevant especially in connection with the draft peace treaty.

In order to explain how the chance was missed I would like to cite only a few statements by prominent members of the Federal Government which give a distinct picture of what is noticable again today and what is unfortunately hardly being observed or opposed. For instance Dr. h. c. *Strauss* declared in Hollfeld on the 11th of November 1956: *"We live in a technical age in which the united strength of our allies suffices to erase the empire of the Soviet Union from the map."* In June 1958 he said: *"The possession of atomic weapons is a moral task. In an emergency we attack – even if the risk is death."* In Paris on May 30th, 1960 he represented the conception that *"State and private economic interests have to be fundamentally placed behind military necessities"*.

Considering these facts the question arises, what has left over of the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement of August 2nd, 1945? The content of the defence Minister's speech is imprinted in our memory from the Third Reich and although only sixteen years have passed since, it is again possible to speak of "erasing" the Soviet Union. It is, however, completely incomprehensible if all this is described as a "moral task" and thus permits everyone to describe a mass murder with atom bombs as "right and good". A moral task permits only this interpretation.

The declarations of our Federal Chancellor are also noteworthy. He, for instance, stated that rearmament ought to be the preparation of a new order in Eastern Europe. On January 22nd, 1960 Dr. Adenauer said to the Pope: *"I believe that God has set the German people a special task in the present stormy period, to be the guardian for the West against those powerful influences which affect us from the East."*

The knowledge of such opinions really ought to be convincing enough and one should presume that those 54,8 millions who had to die as a consequence of the realization of such a "moral task" should for all sensible people be a deterrent against war.

Before continuing, however, the Potsdam Agreement has to be recalled once more. It clearly stated that all *"land-, naval and air-forces in Germany . . . including the*

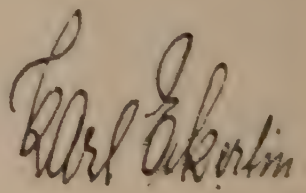
organisations of war veterans and various other military and semi-military organisations, clubs and unions serving the upkeep of military traditions in Germany, must completely and finally be dissolved so that the restoration or reorganisation of German militarism and nazism shall be prevented for good . . ."

Let us in this connection look at our ministries and authorities, the leading staff of the Federal Army and Navy, the veteran's associations, the specially furthered and influenced youth organisations etc., and it must be obvious to nearly everybody where such a development can lead to. It is a shame that also the organisations of evacuees are used for the purpose mentioned.

It would be possible to stop such a development with the aid of the largest democratic organisation on a constitutional basis; such an intention, however, demands a thorough preparation, ideologically and organisationally. Without such a change of outlook success would be questionable and for this reason there remains only one way: the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty in order to save our fatherland and perhaps the great majority of mankind from complete destruction.

Looking at the Soviet draft treaty from January 10th, 1959 one's attention is taken up by the specially loyal wording of the articles 3, 4, 7, 26 and 41. As a Socialist I should like to specially stress the articles 5, 8, 10, 17, 20 and 29. While reading them I could not help remembering the German demands during the First World War, and the huge appetite we disclosed during the Second World War. If one recollects the manifestation of strength at that time, which they pretended to be based also on moral obligations, and furthermore evaluates the crimes, the dead and the devastation, one comes to the conclusion that the author of the peace treaty showed a great deal of deference.

This knowledge ought to win every just-minded person who attempts to judge the draft treaty unbiased and objectively and who is decisively against the intention to solve such problems by force.



Dr. RUDOLF FEITH
Chief Editor of the Mannheim "Blick in die Zeit"

The German question has now entered its decisive phase. This is kown since Premier *Khrushchow* presented the Soviet memorandum to President *Kennedy* in Vienna on June 4th, 1961. In addition *Khrushchow's* speech on the eve of the 22nd of July, 1961, the twentieth anniversary of the attack of *Hitler's* armies on the Soviet Union has made it clear that the dilatorical policy of the Western Powers and the German Federal Republic with regard to a peace settlement on the basis of international law can no longer be continued.

There are undoubtedly a number of reasons for the refusal of the West to cooperate in the solution of the German problem. The economic structure of the world has undergone a considerable change since the Second World War. The leading power of the Western countries accepted allies wherever they found them. She did not shrink from reorganizing the larger part of the beaten national-socialist Germany and adapting it to her own structure. In doing so she gave preference to forces hostile to democracy and made them spread slogans of democracy and freedom. The forces opposed to *Hitler,* the only democrats, were excluded. Thus the strange situation was created in Western Germany that the democratic forces were labelled as the enemies of freedom, while those people actually destroying freedom under the national-socialist regime and previously, enjoy the unlimited confidence of the leading Western power. The personalities engaged in politics, economy, law and in various other fields give evident proof of this fact.

However it is here intended, to deal with only one of the many reasons which explain the refusal of the Western powers and of the circles ruling the Federal Republic, to come to a German peace settlement based on international law. Despite numerous contrary declarations from French and British sources, no serious obstacle is being put in the way of West German intentions aimed at seizing the territories belonging to Germany in 1937. This may be looked upon as being the main reason for the Western attitude with regard to the German question and the attitude of its "satellite", the German Federal Republic, and the refusal to come to a peace settlement. The fact that an annexation either of the German Democratic Republic or the former German Eastern territories is impossible under the present political and military prerequisites has been recognized. For this reason, leading circles in the Federal Republic nurture the conception of influencing the West-East relations of power in a way favourable for the West, so that it will be possible to change the present state of affairs by the pressure of power alone.

This attitude was neither influenced by the appeal to reason in general, that the maintenance of peace depends on the good will of all powers to come to an understanding – rebus sic stantibus –, nor the insight into historical reason to consider the results of the Second World War and the history of its outbreak, and to act accordingly. This attitude is influenced by the monomania of political power action, which, it is expected, will one day enable the realization of the revisionist aims.

This attitude, it has to be noted, does not exist in an abstract form. Wide circles in the Federal Republic, not excluding the working people, support such a policy,

not because of a special conviction, but chiefly for personal economic motives. The belief in an economic success, strongly propagated by the Federal Republic not without success, leaves little room for the consideration of the peace issue. In this connection the actual revisionist propaganda must not be overlooked, whether carried out by subtle or coarse means.

Thus the international definition of the results of the Second World War is not looked upon as a matter of reason and of general interest for the maintenance of peace. It is aimed at overruling the concrete historical problems by such slogans as freedom and the right to self-government which are linked with simple conceptions, regardless of Germany's guilt in causing the Second World War and the destruction of millions of people, and thus also, of their freedom and right of self-government. To former national-socialist circles which, for instance, play leading parts in the Sudeten Landsmannschaften, the slogans of freedom and the right of self-government mean already today as much as *Hitler's* and *Hans Grimm's* slogans of "a people without room" and are understood the same way.

The influential politicians of the German Federal Republic do not identify themselves with the defeated Germany of 1945, but at the same time they keep silent about the German aggression in 1939 and 1941. They rather believe to be able to play off the forces of Germany of 1914, enriched by atomic power and supported covertly by a world power, against the Soviet wish and the demand of reasonable Germans for a peace settlement in Central Europe.

For this reason a German peace settlement must be regarded as a historic necessity and a matter of course. It is being supported by millions of people in the Western countries and would be understood by many more people still if they were able to look through the veil of propaganda. Time and again anti-Communism is being put forth against the possibility of peaceful co-existence on international level and against the importance of German unity on German level. Undoubtedly the home situation of the German Democratic Republic plays a part herein, partly objective and partly with blurred perspectives. In this respect the economic structure of the German Democratic Republic seems to be of less importance than its political structure. For instance the refugee problem, certain aspects of which do not seem to be so much of a political as of a psychological nature. Public opinion in the German Federal Republic is incessantly being confronted with such factors, whereas silence is being kept about the fact that secondary aspects of life and politics are given superior treatment before vital political problems which could not be solved for years due to the West German lack of readiness for negotiating.

The problem and vital task of the present is to let the creative will of all Germans evolve and end the danger to peace.

The danger of a new war does not only arise from those minimizing the risk, but also from the indifference of those who confide in the politicians of risk for the sake of a fictitious economic advantage. Even now not everybody in West Germany is convinced that in case of a war *Hitler's* end may be repeated.

Rudolf Feith

Dr. G. GLEISBERG
Chief Editor of "Die andere Zeitung", Hamburg

If one reads the Soviet memorandum presented to the US President in Vienna one notices that it contains considerable concessions towards the West. The Soviet Union, the memorandum reads, does not insist on an immediate withdrawal of the German Federal Republic from NATO; both German states could remain members of the respective military groups for some time after the conclusion of the peace treaty. The memorandum also does not demand that the conclusion of a peace treaty should be tied to the recognition of the German Democratic Republic (or the Federal Republic) by all partners of the treaty. With regard to West Berlin it was proposed that in order to guarantee the character of a Free City "token contingents" of troops from the occupation Powers and in addition military units from neutral countries should be stationed there and the Free City status of West Berlin could be supervised by the United Nations. One recognizes the regard for all the objections hitherto raised by the West against the conclusion of a peace treaty. The Soviet Union is even ready for a limited interim solution instead of an immediate peace conference in order to remove the obstacles.

Those who declare this as "unacceptable" reveal themselves as opponents of negotiations in principle, as hostile to relaxation, and as interested in keeping up the East-West contrasts until the bitter end. They do not say "unacceptable" because "the Russians want to keep us down", but because they want to keep up the armament policy and reduce the chances of peace to zero. And since the only alternative to a peace treaty with *both* German states (which could be concluded separately or jointly) remains the conclusion of a separate treaty with only *one,* it is those people shouting "unacceptable" who give "their signature for the German division".

The concessions in the Soviet memorandum are not in the least unacceptable for the West, and doubtful for us Germans only in as far as they envisage the possibility of the two German states remaining in the two military pacts, and the possible delay of the neutrality declaration for the whole of Germany and its inclusion in an atom-free and militarily thinned zone in Central Europe.

All responsible Germans will all the more welcome the Soviet proposal that the Four Powers should appeal to two German states to come to an agreement among themselves on the question of a peace settlement with Germany, and on reunification and to recognize in advance any agreement made by the Germans. The memorandum proposes a limit of six months for the contact between the two German states; to some people this seems to be too short. But it would be irresponsible not to make use of it. For here we Germans are given a chance, by the joint expression of our will, to be free of military obligations towards any state, to renounce the armament policy, to join a zone of peaceful East-West neighbourliness and to open a way towards German reunification without force, thus rendering a decisive contribution towards planning our own future, and above that for world-wide relaxation and the securing of peace – that is the greatest service we can render the reputation and future of Germany.

Professor [illegible]

Director of the German Institute of Economics, Berlin

In the period before World War II, when the Western Powers at least assumed recognizing and adhering to the norms of international law, no reasonable person would have thought it possible that a peace treaty would be withheld from a people a dozen years after the end of a war as has been done with the German people since 1945. The pretexts used in this connection however are so transparent that they seem common sense. Of all people those who planned the division of Germany long beforehand and who completed it by the creation first of the Bizone, by the separate currency reform, by the creation of the West mark, later with its inclusion in NATO and its general armament, those West German and foreign imperialists now declare with affected pathos that Germany must be reunified before a peace treaty can be concluded. The representatives of the Western Powers as well as Adenauer, Strauss, Brentano, Schroeder and the like state with impudence that they must defend the "freedom and wellbeing" of the West Berlin citizens. It was, however, the Soviet Union who fought with the lives and the blood of her best sons also for the liberation of the West Berlin people from the economic catastrophe of such as Clayton, vice president, U.S., post Schroeder etc. who rule again in West Germany today.

Those who reject as a peace treaty do not want peace. They want to falsify the results of World War II, the disgraceful defeat of German imperialism, and desire to turn the calendar. They would like to begin once more in 1939 or in 1941. But the wheel of history turns forward not back.

Those who reject the proposals of the Soviet Union for a peace treaty as "not acceptable" want to prevent a final post-war settlement in Europe in order to change the borders according to their wishes. The opponents of a peace treaty want to maintain the abnormal situation in West Berlin which makes it easier for them on "Big X" or at least a new war by provocations.

The German people, however, needs a peace treaty because it needs a secure and permanent peace because it is highly interested in extinguishing conflagration centers such as Berlin. The German people needs a peace treaty so that militarism and imperialism may be excluded from its life in order that the heavy armament will be stopped which swallows here and now by secret taxes millions of marks in Western Germany in order that these billions of marks may be used for the peaceful development of the economy and social measures of the working class and the citizens and for the people of the economically underdeveloped countries. West Germany maintains that a peace treaty for Germany based on the proposals of the Soviet Union is a dictate. Quite the contrary the subject of a treaty is a treaty state, the mutual reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic armament against the wishes of the West German people, the support of the will of people like Gaitskell, Strauss, Schroeder and those that back them and of the industrial and bank trusts – this is a dictate against the will and the vital interests of the German people.

Therefore, every honest peace-loving German welcomes with gratitude the proposals of the Soviet Union and supports with all his energies the conclusion of a peace treaty which secures for the German people a permanent peace and a happy future.

Siegbert Kahn

FRIEDEL MALTER

Chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, Berlin

It is the right of every man to safeguard his life and to oppose the instigation and preparation of war. In the Bonn State, however, different conceptions of right exist. There, honest and decent people, who actively support an understanding between the two German states are being persecuted, tried and even sent to jail. The Adenauer regime has extremely aggravated its legal and political terror and started a witch-hunt against all political opponents from both parts of Germany. The Committee for the protection of Human Rights has pointed out in a memorandum to the UN Commission for the Protection of Human Rights that from January 1960 to March 1961, 229 citizens of the German Democratic Republic were arrested in West Germany and most of them sentenced to prison. Their "crimes" consisted in peaceful talks on the vital questions of our nation. For instance, discussions on the subject of the atomic armament of the West German NATO Army, its Nazi generals, the danger of our people, and its obstruction of the peaceful reunification of Germany.

This gross violation of the supreme human right for peace is closely connected with the atomic war- and revenge policy of the Adenauer Government and the monopolists backing it. Their aim is to create an inner-political quiet in order to carry out atomic armament undisturbed. Therefore they imprison everybody who protests against their policy hostile to peace. And for that reason too they suppress every expression of democratic life among the people. This lastly is the aim of the partly planned and partly already practised emergency laws issued by the Bonn Minister of the Interior, *Schroeder*.

During the past weeks a wave of increased terror swept West Germany. Miners had to account for their contact with the Free German Trade Union (FDGB). Former functionaries of the German Democratic Women's League (DFD) from Lower Saxony were accused because of their activity during the time when this democratic women's organisation had not yet been illegally banned. Peasants who were systematically deprived of their farms are being persecuted and jailed en masse. This fascist-like suppression in the unjust Bonn State proves clearly that militarism and revanchism is incompatible with the maintenance of the elementary human rights.

Viewed from this aspect the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States has become a necessity which can no longer be postponed. A peace treaty must guarantee in West Germany the fundamental rights and liberties of the people to equality of race, sex, background and political convictions. Just as essential are regulations about the free activity of all democratic parties and organisations, simultaneously prohibiting fascist and militarist organisations.

The outlawing of the German Communist Party, the most consequent fighter for peace and human rights, must also be reversed. The same applies to numerous other democratic organisations. Instead traditional militarist groups and the revanchist Landsmannschaften must be deprived of the possibilities to engage in war-mongering activities.

Is it not a disgraceful injustice that peace-loving citizens of the GDR and the Federal Republic, some of whom had already suffered in *Hitler's* concentration camps, are now once more deprived of their liberty while war- and nazi-criminals are free, and *Globke,* the murderer of jews, still has a high government position?

Justice demands an end to this state of affairs by the conclusion of a peace treaty this year as stated in the Soviet memorandum. A peace treaty paves the way in the whole of Germany for the triumph of peace over war and justice over injustice.

Friedel Malter

Dr. FRANZ PAUL SCHNEIDER
Professor of Political Science, Würzburg

"Politics are based on experiences in the past or they sway and fall", Heinrich Mann once said. ("An Age is being Reviewed", Berlin 1947, p. 118.) It is a disaster that the German Federal Republic did not "pursue its foreign policy according to the experiences of the past", but exploited the dangerous situation which arose out of the USA "roll back" policy. This situation gave even the first foreign policy decisions of the Federal Government a partial military legitimacy. Up to 1949 the USA possessed an absolute, up to 1953 a relative monopoly in the field of atomic and rocket weapons. At the same time the prospect of a quick reconstruction of the heavily bombed German industry was opened for the Federal Republic.

Where foreign policy is not ruled by historic responsibility and the belief in legality and justice of historic processes, the temptation to choose the path of least resistance is overwhelming. We do not wish to conceal that the government did exactly what a large part of the West German people expected and hoped for. Seen from the human side it is understandable that they wanted their immediate difficulties, such as the insufficient food supply, the bad housing conditions and missing supplies in general to be placed before the interests of the nation.

For this reason the rising living standard was looked upon by numerous West German citizens as the proof of a "correct" foreign policy. Even now the "economic miracle" blurs the view of the political realities for millions. They do not notice that relationships in the world have undergone a fundamental change. Those who are aware of this fact must admit that the mere thought of a military solution of the unsolved political questions of Central Europe is a crime.

In light of the "balance of atomic deterrent" the "impossibility" of war, the new Soviet memorandum concerning the German question, must be understood and evaluated correctly. The Soviet Union thinks it is essential *"to fix the situation arisen after the war in Europe, to legally fix and confirm the inviolability of the existing German borders and to normalize the West Berlin situation on the basis of reasonable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned".*

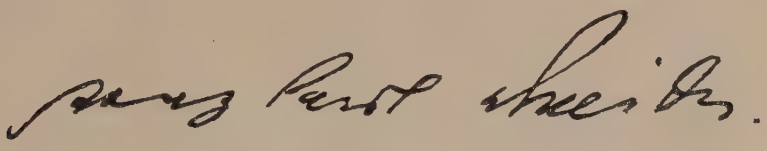
If the Federal Chancellor rejects the Soviet memorandum als "not acceptable", one asks which possibilities remain for retroactive moves with regard to the territories lost as a result of the Hitler war. These losses are painful to every German but which state in the West and East would be ready to hypothetically consider a fundamental revision of the German eastern borders? What do Government and Opposition gain if they insist on their "not acceptable"? Armament would be pushed on, cold war between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic would continue, the dangerous fiction of a provisional territorial state be kept up; dangerous because it nurtures desires and hopes which can easily be converted into political and military mistakes. Above all the German division will irreparably be deepened.

If the Soviet Union cannot negotiate a peace treaty for the whole of Germany together with the victorious Western Powers she will not delay concluding a separate peace treaty with the GDR. The Soviet memorandum offers the Federal

Republic a chance to consider her opinion and justifiable interests. It is a challenge to our government to submit counter-proposals. Certainly we have no illusions about the limits of these counter-proposals. But there is a difference whether a German peace treaty will be concluded with our co-operation or without it. Besides, it does not seem to demand too much of the Federal Republic since the Soviet Union, contrary to her 1958 draft treaty, does not *"insist on the immediate withdrawal of the German Federal Republic from NATO"* and does not *"tie the conclusion of a peace treaty with the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Federal Republic or by all partners of the treaty"*. In addition several model solutions are being offered for the final relaxation and loosening of tensions in West Berlin.

A peace treaty with Germany is inconceivable without regulating our military status along the lines of an arms limitation. But which German could be interested in a continuation of a forced armament? The "policy of strength" has only decreased the security of the West German people and increased the general danger of war. At present the situation is such that it endangers the only positive item of the West German foreign policy: the high living standard.

Which German could furthermore desire that West Berlin should continue to act its dubious role of a front-line city? Above all a peace treaty with the whole of Germany would bring us a step nearer towards German reunification – even if only in a loose form for the time being. But behind this hope stands, as *Ernst Wiechert* said: *"The greatest task we can set ourselves: the salvation of the German character."*



Dr. WOLFGANG VENOHR
West Berlin

The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany raises a number of problems which cannot be judged and solved alone from the German point of view. This statement is valid independent of whether it will be signed by a joint German Government or simultaneously by the two separate governments.

It is a truism that in a time of an earth-wide political struggle there are no completely isolated national problems and solutions. And it is obvious that all European States, that the countries which were at war with Germany, yes, even remote great Powers such as India, are not indifferent and disinterested in the matter of a German peace treaty.

Apart from that we will deal here concretely with the Central European problem and its legitimate interests. This the more so, as this aspect at present does not receive the desirable and necessary attention either in East or West Germany.

But the idea is neither new nor far-fetched. Only a few years ago the Government of the People's Republic of Poland developed with the Rapacki Plan (Central Europe as an atomfree zone) Central European ideas. These are being discussed now as then by renowned foreign political experts on international level and – especially now – after the Vienna meeting have increased actuality. (The British Gaitskell Plan aims at a similar solution.)

If we now ask the question "What actually is Central Europe?" we will find in encyclopedias the following answer: "the central part of Europe between the Alps, the North- and the Baltic Sea." Looking closer we find the following details:
In the North: Baltic- and North Sea,
In the West: Ems, Lower Rhenish Lowland – Eifel – Saar – Terrace of Lorraine,
In the South: Lake of Constance – Adige – Drave,
In the East: Memel – Bug – Lower Hungarian Lowland east of the Theiss River.
Politically expressed these lines are nearly the same as the Northern borders of Germany and Poland – Germany's Western border – the Southern border of Germany, Austria and Hungary – the Eastern borders of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Within the borders of Central Europe we have the States of Germany, the People's Republic of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary with a total of 130 million inhabitants. (Only South Tyrol and North-East Prussia are at present under the control and sovereignty of non-Central European States.)

This is a purely geographical definition. It is the same with Central Europe as it is with the whole of Europe: it is not only a geographical conception, but above all a historical one, if one likes, a common "area of destiny". Specifically it is the territory in which the Germans, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Poles have for over 300 years, since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, experienced and formed their national or State destinies with or against each other.

The political unity of Central Europe was not first disrupted in 1945. The decisive date for the "Balcanizing" and splitting of Central Europe was 1918. The Soviet Union retreated from this territory by relinquishing Poland and thus giving her the chance to become, along with a leading nation – the Germans – conscious of

her Central European task. But for one thing *Pilsudski's* Poland immediately annexed by force wide sections of the Ukraine and White-Russia. This imperialist grab extended far beyond the Bug River, the Eastern border of Central Europe. Secondly, such young national States as Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which had just emerged from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, had in the twenties and thirties a perspective of limited national "mission". This limited historical maturity did not encompass the broader federative "supra"national demands and possibilities of Central Europe.

The West European Community which was formed after the Second World War has as legitimate members France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, and potentially also Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. Only the German Federal Republic, which belongs to Central Europe, is misplaced. This West European Community example for the growing of such "supra"national federations on a historic-geographical basis is a timely necessity; a progressive happening in the second half of the twentieth century – the age of industrial – and mass society, of economic and political planning, and constitutes the prerequisite for a closer merging of the whole of Europe.

Two basic facts must be kept in mind: one, that federalism in our age does not have an internal but rather exclusively "supra"national task to fulfil and the second, that the unification of Europe cannot be realized on the basis of the "Patrie" (de Gaulle), that is the national states, but only on the basis of European regional federations. Otherwise the danger would arise that a too powerful national State would grasp the initiative and leadership in this process of unification and try to form a hegemony over Europe as *Hitler* did twenty years ago by imperialism and fascism. The national states constitute the regional federations, however, the intermediate stage on the path to European Union. And one day, just as the Soviet Union and the West European Community already exist, a Nordic Community (perhaps with England and the Scandinavian States) will have to be formed and a Balkan Federation (with Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania), if the process of European unification is not to come to a dead end.

In order to achieve this the decisive prerequisite is the forming of a politically and economically independent Central Europe. This is the vital starting point for the solution of the European question. Not only because Central Europe is the centre of the continent. Precisely here must the armed fronts be disengaged, which for sixteen years were drawn across Europe and split Germany, Central Europe and finally the whole of Europe. The Central European States must withdraw from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, two expressions of the antiquated cold war. Then the process of European self-contemplation, pacification and – finally – unification can be initiated.

Everyone can recognize the important and responsible role the German people, as well as the Polish, have to play in the task of Central European regeneration and federation. Consequently, with the conclusion of the peace treaty the Central European aspect ought to be seriously and duly considered. It seems obvious that the Soviet Union could contribute towards this aim by rewording her draft peace treaty from January 10th, 1959.

For instance, one must consider the Central European requirements in relation to the future military status of Germany (Article 5, paragraph 1 and 3 of the Soviet draft peace treaty). Germany – whether already reunified or a confederation of two German states – will presumably preserve the status of armed neutrality as contained basically in the Soviet proposal of March 10th, 1952. This means that the two German states will withdraw from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, that foreign contingents of troops will also withdraw from German territory, that no atomic weapons may be stationed, produced and used on German soil, and above all that Germany voluntarily imposes limits on itself in its military obligations and alliances.

This limitation should consider a neutral status for Central Europe, as indicated by Gaitskell and Rapacki. But Germany would be allowed to enter military alliances with Central European States, on condition that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria also do not enter obligations outside of Central Europe. In this way no military-political aspect would prevent a Central European federation. This also applies to article 13 of the Soviet draft treaty which deals with the annexation question, denying Austrian inclusion in a German union of States. Paragraph 5 must be so formulated as to facilitate the voluntary association of the Central European States as a political, economic and military community on the basis of national equality consistent with the contents of article 13.

The problem of the Oder-Neisse border contained in article 8 and 9 will have to be carefully examined and dealt with. At all events a method should be found for overcoming the differences between the 73 million Germans and the 28 million Poles. These two great peoples who together account for 100 of the 130 million Central Europeans, and who through close and friendly cooperation bear the chief responsibility for the historic undertaking to create a peaceful, relaxed Central Europe, must make mutual concessions for a border which is acceptable and conciliatory for both countries.

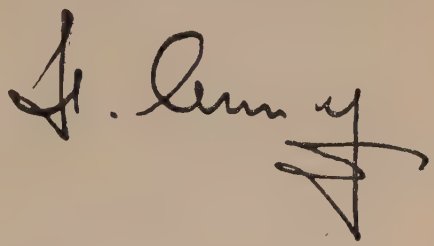
There are sure to be a number of possibilities and proposals which ought to be developed and discussed. The expert evidence of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber dated February 9, 1959 mentions in dealing with the German Eastern border *"the justified claims of the Polish people for a border which for all times excludes the threat against its flanks from East Prussia and Silesia"*. One may assume that this is the cardinal point of the Polish attitude towards the border problem.

Based upon this conception it can be proposed that Germany would renounce all claims for her former territories east of a line twenty kilometres eastward of the sixteenth degree of longitude east of the town of Koeslin, Filehne, Liegnitz in a straight line from the north to the south. Hereby three of the eleven lost East German provinces would be returned to Germany while a threat to Poland's flanks would be no longer possible. (This border corresponds approximately to the American ideas developed after the Potsdam Conference.)

The People's Republic of Poland could for its good will be compensated by the two North-East Prussian provinces of Koenigsberg and Gumbinnen (without the former Memel-Land which belongs to the Lithuanian SSR), which are now under

Soviet administration but which geographically and historically clearly belong to the Central European sphere. There is little doubt that the Soviet Union would be ready to agree as she could then present to the world opinion a territory free of annexation and thus render a decisive contribution towards German-Polish reconciliation whereby she would be assured of the two peoples' lasting gratitude. No matter which solutions, however, may be proposed in particular – and there are a variety of them – the Central European aspects and interests should receive a due consideration in the conclusion of a peace treaty. The establishment of a Central European State Federation with a genuine coexistence of social systems and with a foreign policy of "positive neutrality" between East and West constitutes the only possible way to achieve a genuine relaxation in Europe and beyond that in the world. This conception is sure to receive the sincere consent and active support of the constantly increasing influence of the block-free nations which, without exception, adhere to a policy of "positive neutrality".

Of course the question remains whether the Western Powers and the Soviet Union and finally also the two German states will be ready for the unification of Central Europe and to cooperate in it.



EMIL GRAF VON WEDEL
Wiesbaden

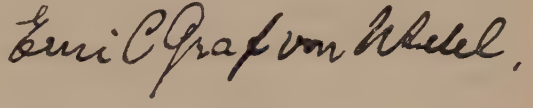
Everywhere in the world the word "peace" had at all times the meaning of a regular and permanent lawful order between the different states which is only *exceptionally* interrupted by war. The restoring of this lawful order after a war is documented by a peace treaty. The temple of God Janus who with two faces, a youthful and an aged one, looks forward and backward into the future and the past was symbolically opened in Rome at the beginning of a war and closed again only after peace was restored. Sixteen years after the complete breakdown of the criminal Hitler regime we still have not returned to the lawful order of "peace".

One would imagine that now all people in the Federal Republic long for the restitution of a normal lawful order by a peace treaty. Curiously enough that is not so. Large parts of the masses, influenced and lulled to sleep by a false mass suggestion, do not know that we still are in a state of (cold) war and that through a completely miscarried policy the peace treaty has become the prerequisite for the solution of the German question. The licensed parties and the Federal Government do not even discuss the peace treaty drafts, they do nothing to restore the lawful order "peace". They demand the *status quo,* that is, the upkeep of a state of emergency. Only the friends of peace in the Federal Republic keep on supporting the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty and because of it they are being insulted by the nazis, the professional refugees, militarists and others living in the past. In spite of it all they do not fear this stupid babble. Even the expression "peace friend" is said to derive from the Eastern vocabulary. They consider the word "peace friend", coined in the past century by *Richard Cobden,* the world-famous English free-trade theoretician and *Elihu Burrit,* the American philanthropist, as a title of honour.

It is different in the German Democratic Republic. Everywhere discussions take place on a peace treaty and the German question in a lively and expert manner. Even those who do not support all conceptions represented in these discussions must acknowledge that in the German Democratic Republic people are struggling earnestly for a solution of these problems.

Such discussions are impossible in the Federal Republic, because too few people have taken an interest in the peace treaty problem. Obviously the desired conclusion of a peace treaty cannot be realized due to the mutually opposed mental attitudes in the two German states. Those who believe that the speedy restoration of the normal lawful order "peace" and the solution of the German question should no longer be postponed, can only wish that soon a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic may be concluded and that thus at least in one part of Germany the normal lawful order will be restored. If "peace" for the whole of Germany cannot be realized because the Federal Republic looks into the past, that part of Germany should not be deprived of it which looks into the future.

The restitution of legal peaceful conditions in the German Democratic Republic will further strengthen the reputation of this German state in the world and force those people in the Federal Republic, who look backward to at last – according to the requirements of the constitution – take an interest in the vital problems of the German people.



ARNOLD ZWEIG

Berlin

Do people of today have any idea what "peace" means? That is a state where soldiers march only in the background, at parades, regimental displays, at reception of a friendly ruler and during imperial manoeuvres? In which guns only seem to serve the purpose of firing salutes, and interruption of the studies of those who were enrolled for service means a no more important mental change than the right to buy the special uniform of the regiment in which one has to serve, an attractive uniform, a blue coat with coloured shoulder-pieces, black trousers with red edgings and white linen trousers in summer – "Smart, my boy!" And where on numerous goods vans people read and laugh at the inscription: "48 men or 6 horses"? Well our parents experienced such a time of peace and so did we beginning with that legendary peace treaty concluded in 1871 in the Versailles hall of mirrors up to the 1st of August, 1914 when the German Reichstag with Hohenzollern Kaiser Wilhelm II decided to render armed assistance to the apparently very much insulted Emperor of Austria and King Peter of the Serbs. With the year 1914 began the second Thirty-Year War in European history, but still today, sixteen years later, we live in the depths of a more or less noticable state of cold peace.

Therefore, I expect from a peace treaty which is now seriously being tackled by one part of this post-war world, the restoration of our unaffected sense of life, a feeling which people who are about twenty now may hardly be able to imagine. This illusion which the Weimar Republic offered us while behind the paper wall of the League of Nations World War II was being plotted, is what we want to transform into a reality today. We Socialists are determined to save the young people around us from the menace which threatens them – a Third World War. To those lying dead on the ground it is all the same whether a bullet or the effect of an atom bomb mowed them down. All our planning and the prolonged fruitful training at school are the prerequisites for the start of the education of the culture-bearing individual instead of storm troops and divisions. We will work out a peace treaty with the assistance of that Power which represents our Socialist half of the world, which contains no germ of war and where the greatest happiness of human beings is written on the horizon, as Goethe expressed it: Personality.

* * *

The irresponsible obstruction of the binding peace treaty by the Western Powers despite the frequent attempts of the Soviet Union is fatal for the security of Europe and the world. This has been thoroughly exploited by the Western Powers and West Germany. The restoration of West German militarism with its incalculable consequences for the world and for West Germany's economy would not have been possible had a peace treaty been concluded.

The general dissatisfaction with the post-war development in the United States and England is chiefly due to this fatal mistake of the respective governments. Now at last public opinion and the peoples ought to let themselves be convinced of the necessity of a peace treaty. It is inconceivable, however, that the Western world, in spite of the damage already suffered, has become still more obstructive with respect to the conclusion of a peace treaty.

The unrestrained and cultivated German imperialism has always been the symbol of the actual anonymous rulers, the greedy lords of the heavy and armament industries (who pushed Hitler into power paying huge sums to him which they received back later on), and whose underlings were and are the well-paid Hitler generals. With the avalanche-like increasing cost of modern weapons the armament business became more attractive still.

Naturally, armament supports to a very special extent that one-sided formation of property in West Germany which was called a "public scandal" by *Alois Seitz* from the Bavarian Trade Union leadership.

These huge unproductive expenses must sooner or later lead to an inflation because of the incomparably lower production capability of the West German industry in comparison with the Western Powers. The slow devaluation is already the beginning of it.

We are assured, however, that all this armament only serves the cause of peace and that the Western Powers do not want a war. But haven't we heard this before? Always the imperialists stated that they only armed as an precautionary measure. But twice already the living generation in the world has seen, how German imperialism, miscalculating its armament production figures, started a World War, the second one being something like a rehearsal for the destruction of the entire world in a third one. We have since experienced more miscalculations of the Western world, in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Laos ... And nobody protects us from a new miscalculation in Europe.

We in the West talk much too much of the "unmanaged past". Perhaps it will become presence once more! What did we not hear and experience in the past years from Minister *Strauss,* who also wants to "erase", not only like his master in erasing, various towns, but the whole of the Soviet Union; what did we hear from Minister *Seebohm,* who bows before symbols which have most disgracefully discredited the German name (and at the same time before the influencial nazis in the interest of his minister's salary); and those gruesome speeches by the professional refugees heading the notorious "landsmannschaften" as they are innocently called. Everything looks like a nightmare, but by it West Germany's reputation is destroyed, and she deserves it. No responsible government would

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permit this for even one day. But these ministers are well suited for a Christian government.

There is one more terrible thought which might cause us sleepless hours, yes, it ought to before it is too late. If, in one of those "precautionary" atomic bomb planes, which constantly cruise over West German territory, the insulation of the mile-long electric wires wears out in a certain place or something else happens (as recently in the USA when an atomic bomb plane crashed and the atomic bomb only by chance did not explode) then a nuclear-armed West Germany would be the first atomic desert.

Thus the worries constantly grow and everybody, really everybody, ought to be interested in permanent peace which would be guaranteed by a peace treaty. It would also do away with mistrust in the world and very much lessen insecurity and tension in Europe.

There is no sensible reason for rejecting the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German States, which have long been a historic fact.

The peace treaty as proposed by the Soviet Union is surely well thought out. Some things may perhaps be changed during negotiations, may perhaps be made clearer, but its essence contains everything vital. If its clear respective definitions would alone prevent a civil war, its necessity were already proved. It is completely inconceivable that the Federal Government rejects all negotiations. By the way, it is absolutely unreasonable to expect that the Soviet Union would ever allow the stationing of the Federal German Army at the Oder-Neisse border, as has been imagined in Bonn for years!

The decisions about the Eastern borders are certainly severe but just as certainly unchangeable. The victorious Powers would have had to reckon with quite different sacrifices had the German fascists been victorious. Even the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty of the then ruling imperialists during World War I was a foretaste, and in the maze of border changes alone during the past 90 years there are examples which speak for themselves.

The final solution of the West Berlin problem is naturally insolubly linked with the peace treaty and is another reason for its urgent necessity. The transitory regulations and the occupation of Berlin were surely planned for a short period at the end of the war by the then entirely one-minded victorious powers. Although *Kennedy* said in his report about the Vienna talks that *"the German problem has been the most disagreeable"*, no more time must be wasted now. The proposed peace treaty is in many items better than the American peace treaty with Japan and it will certainly not be easy to finally formulate it, but the Western world must learn to see that overcoming the latent danger of fascism and the final appeasement remain the last hopes of mankind for the future. A burden would be liftet from all of us.

A Free-lance Journalist
who asked the editor not to mention his name

The Editor's Comment

Numerous letters and comments from citizens of the German Democratic Republic and West Germany arrived during the past weeks in our office, following our appeal to all Germans of good will to express their opinions on a peace treaty with both German States. We are glad that our appeal found such a wide echo in the East and West of our fatherland and we begin today with the publication of the letters.

Those letters and comments reflect the deep striving of the majority of our people for securing peace and a happy future for Germany and the whole of Europe. They show a broad agreement on our nation's basic problems between the citizens of both German states despite different social background, conviction and party membership and also that in West Germany the conviction grow that immidiate conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states is a historic necessity.

We should like to mention, however, that not all West German and West Berlin citizens we approached replied. Many who we believe not to share our point of view remained silent, thus evading a discussion. This indicates how weak their arguments are. Others requested our understanding, that "in the present circumstances" they were not able to reply. Apparently they fear serious personal disadvantages if they express their opinion publicly. This is another example of the "climate" in the allegedly "free world".

The chief task of this reader's discussion beginning today in our periodical will be to help to contribute to clarity on the vital question of the German nation and to pave the ways to the securing of peace so that a new world war can never again be begun from German soil. This is all the more necessary because every attempt of the aggressive imperialist circles to solve the international problems by force raise the danger of an unimaginably horrible war of destruction in the world. We will publish every letter reaching us if its length is not excessive.

The memorandum of the Soviet Government on the conclusion of a peace treaty and the West Berlin Problem has, despite all slanderous attempts found a wide echo also in West Germany. In this connection the statement by Professor Dr. *Schneider* that the peace treaty offers the Federal Republic the chance "to throw her opinion and justifiable interests into the scales" seems very important to us. Another West German citizen writes that the Soviet peace treaty proposal was well thought out and "contained in principle everything essential" for a peaceful and democratic development in the whole of Germany. He continues: "Some things may be changed during negotiations, perhaps be made completely clear . . ."

We would like to especially underline those last words because they mark the character of the Soviet proposal, even if Bonn slanderously declares that the Soviet proposal for a peace treaty was an ultimatum. But even casual reading assures every objective person that it is an invitation for a frank discussion by all sides. It differs fundamentally from the Versailles "Dictat". The imperialist states forced this "dictat" upon the German people without their participation. The Soviet peace treaty proposal, however, challenges the German people to take the decision about its vital questions into their own hands. Moreover, the Soviet Govern-

ment suggested to the Western Powers to declare in advance that the Four Powers "recognize any agreement reached by the Germans". This is not only a convincing proof of the confidence in our people, but at the same time the expression of the strict acknowledgement of the right of self-determination of the German people. The German Democratic Republic is acting in the national interest when she proposes to the West German Government and the Bundestag to immediately start negotiations with representatives of both German states on a peace settlement with Germany and on the question of reunification.

The same groups in Bonn which absolutely oppose the conclusion of a peace treaty have rejected this proposal. Quite correctly Professor *Siegbert Kahn* brands this anti-national policy as directed against the will and the vital interests of our people, aimed at the "realisation of atomic armament against the will of the West German people, and further domination by *Globke, Strauss, Schroeder* and those backing them".

The conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states would be very useful for the German people and bring them substancial gains. It would stop atomic armament in Germany and free the West German people of the high armament taxes. It would remove the occupation regime in West Germany and the menacing conflagration- and provocation centre of West Berlin. The peace treaty would establish democratic and peaceful conditions in the whole of Germany. It would, as Frau *Friedel Malter* stresses, guarantee the fundamental and basic human liberties indifferent of race sex, background and political convictions. It would guarantee a free and unhampered activity for all democratic parties and organisations. And finally a peace treaty would confirm and fix by international law the German borders which were determined by the Allied agreements and have stood for 16 years. Thus the revanchist politicians would be deprived of any theoretical basis. This is of particular importance for the securing of peace in view of the fact that the West German revanchists ore moving into the open and behaving ever more arrogantly.

It is evident that during peace treaty negotiations there can be no discussion of additional border changes. Therefore we cannot follow Dr. *Venohr* in this point. It seems hardly possible to discuss an exchange of Soviet and Polish territory as he proposes.

All attempts by imperialist circles to change the Oder-Neisse peace border either by force or step by step are unrealistic and dangerous. The development of the past years has proved this. But is has also proved that all attempts to exploit the border question in order to play off the Socialist states against each other are built on sand. There is no "border problem" between the German and the Polish people. The Oder-Neisse border does not separate – it unites these peoples! The development of friendly and fraternal relations between the German Democratic Republic and People's Poland is an example of historic significance. The letters we received mirrored the recognition that the conclusion of a peace treaty is of major importance for the security of Europe, particulary Central Europe. Naturally, the problem is complicated and many-sided. But its solution would not be rendered easier by artificial or basically unrealistic constructions. We agree with Dr. *Venohr* that good neighbourly relations between the Central European

states are of great service to peace. The conclusion of a confederation between the two German states, for instance, according to the proposals of the GDR Government is a guide towards German reunification and beyond that towards creating an atmosphere of confidence between the European peoples.

Dr. *Venohr's* letter also deals with the question of Germany's military neutrality. We believe that the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO states and those of the Warsaw Defence Pact must be viewed from this aspect. It would create the prerequisites for guaranteeing the security of a militarily neutral Germany. Of course, the two Germanys or the reunified Germany would be entitled to join a system of collective security according to article 5 of the Soviet treaty. The Soviet Government proposes also that the USA and the Soviet Union should mutually give guarantee for the security of a militarily neutral Germany. Concerning the economic alliances of both Germanys or the reunified Germany the Soviet Foreign Minister proposed at the Geneva Conference that a peace treaty *"does not affect the obligations and duties resulting from the membership of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in international or economic alliances and organisations. The question of membership of a reunified Germany in such communities or organisations shall be determined by the respective All-German authorities. The Allies and united Powers will recognize such a decision."*

The leading statesmen of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist states have in the recent period repeatedly confirmed their will to conclude a peace treaty this year. They also left no doubt that if the Western Powers and Bonn should continue to stubbornly refuse a peace treaty will be concluded with the German Democratic Republic.

Count *von Wedel* writes:

"If peace cannot be realized for the whole of Germany because the German Federal Republic looks into past, that part of Germany which looks into the future, should not be deprived of it. The restitution of legal peaceful conditions in the German Democratic Republic will further strengthen the reputation of this German state in the world and force those people in the Federal Republic who look backwards to at last follow the command of the constitution and deal with the vital questions of the German people."

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 8, 1961)

The Contribution of the GDR to the Strengthening of the Socialist World System

The German Democratic Republic is the first genuinely peaceloving state on German territory, whose domestic and foreign policy is influenced by no aggressive intentions towards other states. In our century, in two World Wars, German armies have brought death and destruction to almost all countries of Europe. However, no people and no neighbour-state of Germany would feel threatened by the German Democratic Republic. In this regard, the slander campaign directed by Bonn against the GDR remains ineffective despite its tremendous means. Even those groups in the Western countries, who oppose the socialist development in our Republic, or who are enemies, see in the strenghtening of the first German Worker's and Farmer's State no danger to the national independence and integrity of their countries.

The GDR – the State of Peace and Socialism

The reasons for this undeniable fact, though not everyone is always aware of it, are not hard to explain. In eastern Germany, previously the domain of militarist Junker's (hereditary land aristocracy), the healthy principles of the Potsdam Agreement were carried through consistently and completly. The economic basis of militarism and fascism was removed. They were the extreme forms of the revanchist and aggressive policies of German imperialism.

By smashing the fascist power apparatus and by fundamental democratic changes in the first post-war years, twelve years ago the economic and political prerequisites were laid for the German Democratic Republic as a State of Workers and Farmers to come into being. Through the exclusion of the power of the large landholders and monopoly capital from the economy and the state, all those powers were eliminated, who considered carrying through their revanchist demands by pressure for an aggressive external policy and militarism as an instrument.

A bulwark of peace exists in the GDR because an end was made for German imperialism and its policy of militarism and revanchism for the first time on German territory. The only task of the security organs of the GDR, the People's Police as well as the National People's Army, consists in protecting the peaceful socialist construction work of her citizens.

The geographic circumstances and the political and military post-war development have brought about, that at the borders and on the territory of the German Democratic Republic simultaneously the peaceful labour of the peoples of all Europan socialist countries are protected. It may be said without exaggeration or arrogance, that under the given historical conditions the existence and development of the GDR is a contribution to the strengthening of the Socialist Camp that is not to be underestimated.

The Federal Republic – the State of Militarism and Revanche

The special contribution of the GDR to strengthening the socialist camp results from the division of Germany and the different development in the two existing German states for twelve years. The demands for

removing from power those responsible for war, and for socializing the large industries, though supported by the overwhelming majority of the German people in plebiscites and even by parlamentary votes, were not allowed by the western occupation authorities under gross violation of all democratic principles. Instead of this, with the economic and political help of the USA in West Germany the German imperialists rose again. Since the foundation of the German Federal Republic, reaction and militarism internally, and revanche and aggression externally, belong to its nature and are characteristic of its domestic and foreign policy.

The Wehrmacht of the *Hitler* dictatorship was not liquidated in West Germany, and much less in its state apparatus and bureaucracy. From the very beginning they were the beneficiaries of the cold war, which began after the end of the Second World War by the most reactionary and anti-Soviet forces of American and German imperialism.

After a period of preservation of the reactionary and military forces and institutions, during which, to be sure, there was no absence of demagogic manoeuvres with a so-called "denazification", *Adenauer* soon after the emergence of the Federal Republic, behind the people's back and also that of the Federal Parliament, from the United States began to beg for permission for open rearmament of German Imperalism.

Adenauer's military advisor at that time was Hitler General *Hasso von Manteuffel*, who in the meantime was condemned by a West German court, (he was "pardoned" and released in June 1961), as a murderer of soldiers. This advisor, by order and with the money of the Federal Government, published a sort of contemporary standard work for West German militarism under the title "Balance of the Second World War", whose staff of collaborators alone is a program of war and aggression.

The glorification of German Prussian and German fascist militarism is being used in order to give present day clerical militarism in West Germany an "ideological foundation". Glorification of heroic deeds and the "great experiences" of the First and Second World Wars only serve as a starting point in order to develop the programme of the third World War.

In the unsigned introduction it says, with clear contempt of western powers, today the allies of the Bonn state:

> *"France and England alone however could not win the victory over the Central Powers. Only through the assistance of a foreign continent, namely America, and not through better ideas or even through the birth of the new order factor were they able to put down the central powers."*[1]

Those nations, in which peoples like Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks, Serbs, and Croats achieved national sovereignty and independence after the first world war, are designated as parts of territories, whose power to live is denied, thus at the same time justifying *Hitler's* later aggression against these nations. Fascism is honoured as a *"center of the new order"* whereby the idea of the so-called Volkssturm is recommended as *"germs of a future peaceful order of the European peoples"*. Finally, this semi-official "Balance of the Second World War" does not hesitate to praise directly the blood smeared *Hitler* dictatorship and its aggressions:

> *"On the one hand, unemployment was eliminated, communism as the idea of a new social order was abolished, new hope arose for the people in the readiness to serve the community; military authority was reestablished and Central Europe's further divison was prevented. This process of territorial rearrangement seemed to have reached its zenith in 1938, when Sudeten Germany was incorporated into the Reich and the Munich Agreement was signed."*[2]

Consequently there is not one of *Hitler's* criminal attacks on other peoples, which is not praised in the highest terms by the Bonn balance falsifier. Such infamous acts of gangsterism, as the faked attack on the Gleiwitz radio transmitter, followed by cold blooded murdering of the participating prisoners from concentration camps, are not at

1 "Bilanz des zweiten Weltkrieges, Erkenntnisse und Verpflichtungen für die Zukunft", Oldenburg/Hamburg p. 18
2 ibid. p. 22

all considered to be relevant. According to the Bonn militarists it means rather:

"Already the beginning, in September 1939, the campaign against Poland, from the soldier's standpoint lay in an undreamed of brilliance."[3]

Not only the "incomparable experience of victory" but also the "Justice of this campaign" were praised in similar terms. It would be monotonous, citing more of the West German militarist's "merits" in Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Yugoslavia, and finally in the Soviet Union.

However it is useful to indicate *Manteuffel's* view of the third World War. In the concluding chapter "The Turn of the Times" one can read:

"It is the experience of the single chapters of this book, that in the Second World War ... success was achieved where war was conceived of as total, and crises and defeats arose, where the war leaders violated the internal law of total war."[4]

Manteuffel calls the *"total war"* also the *"transformed war"* for which he demands the following troops:

"Even with the achievement of air supremacy and in spite of the destructive effects of modern bombs, land troops would always be necessary. However, infantry units of the type of the years 1939 to 1945 will no longer be the decisive weapons. Airborne troops, fighting in close cooperation with the air force and fast armoured units, will replace them. The arms of service mentioned: airborne troops, parachute troops, fast armoured units equipped with superior, probably new types of weapons, are capable of fulfilling in an actually ideal manner, the demands of the art of war, according to which surprise and concentration of power on one point are essential suppositions for victory."[5]

Neglecting the changes resulting from atomic armament, the structure of the Bonn armed forces follows exactly these lines. Certainly the resistance of the German people and the western peoples, particularly the French, delayed the remilitarisation of West Germany for a few years; however since the conclusion of the Paris treaties and since the admission of West Germany into NATO, the new build-up of the armed forces was first of all pushed ahead by the introduction of compulsory military service and now, with increasing tempo, also its equipment with atomic arms. The Bonn militarists thoroughly exploit, for their own plans and goals, the fact, that the USA has chosen West Germany for the main arsenal and for the basis of attack of the aggressive NATO block.

The Bonn militarists are pursuing a clear purpose with their entry into the NATO – to gain sufficient military force, that they can pursue their aggressive goals – even if this means ignoring the interests of their western "allies". These goals originate from the defeat of German imperialism in two World Wars.

Hitler's "Teutonic Migration" offered as "European Policy"

The Bonn Government is pursuing a policy of revanchism and follows *Hitler's* footsteps. In his book "Mein Kampf" *Hitler* explained the main point of his foreign policy programme as follows:

"When speaking today of new soil and territory we consider nothing but Russia and the neighbouring nations in the first place. We are going to stop the permanent Teutonic migration to the south and west of Europe and extend our power to the territories in the east."[6]

Founded on this orientation of *Hitler*, many western statesmen believed in the possibility of making a common cause with him against the east, e. g. against the Soviet Union. However, German militarists have always thought of spreading out in one direction merely as a prerequisite for extension in other directions. In an address to the generals of the Wehrmacht in May, 1939, *Hitler* explained:

"If fate should force us into a conflict with the West, it would be well, to be in possession of larger eastern territories."[7]

One must not forget, that at this time *Hitler* already had occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia, supported by the western powers.

[3] ibid. p. 41
[4] ibid. p. 457
[5] ibid. p. 458

[6] See: "Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof", Nuremberg 1947, Vol. 7 p. 275
[7] ibid. p. 276

At a revanchist's meeting in Cologne on June 28th, 1959, *Adenauer* actually called for the overthrow of the People's Government in Poland and for reestablishment of the power of the particularly corrupt and reactionary large land-holders and capitalists, who in 1939, through their anti-Soviet policy rendered possible the invasion by the Hitler Wehrmacht, thus bringing about the political and military catastrophe of Poland. By this speech *Adenauer* hoped to incite a revision of the Oder-Neisse boundary, *"if the European Union* (in which Germany today already plays a dominating role – O. W.) *may encroach upon the east European peoples."* His Minister of War, *Franz Josef Strauss,* stated at the CSU-party meeting on June 14, 1959, in Munich, that also Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. belonged to a "united Europe".

The words, no doubt, are different from those of *Hitler,* however, the contents of such declarations of revenge by authorized officials of the Bonn regime are unchanged. It is the old *"Drang nach dem Osten"* (expansion towards the east) of the German imperialists, now camouflaged in a casing of European unity. More exactly this European casing is the same old fascist rubbish. It was already collected in a pamphlet "Signale", which was published by *Hitler's* Supreme Command in 1944. Already then, like today with *Adenauer* one could read:

"The European peoples too will no longer be able to live as sovereign units ... that means renunciation of various things, certainly however renouncing the traditional European national constitutions, which anyhow have been overthrown."

Comparing the European declarations of the Hitler Supreme Command with the declarations of Bonn War Minister *Strauss,* a striking similarity is to be found. On June 30, 1959, *Strauss* in the official "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung" announced, that the armament efforts must be carried forward within the Atlantic alliance system on a scale, recognized to be necessary. For the sake of this armament he intends to continue *"with great patience and readiness to renounce sovereignty in favour of the unification of Europe."*

Certainly political and military prerequisites today are different from those in *Hitler's* time, but the aim, the orientation of the West German militarists, have remained unchanged. Under the supreme authority of the USA, they want to achieve supremacy in Europe, to occupy the decisive posts in the NATO command, in order to get control of the territory of their NATO partners.

Herr *Strauss* pretends, West Germany would be no longer such a great power, as to be able to overcome a war without allies. This assertion obviously is maintained with the purpose, to minimize the danger of West German armament. In fact, Bonn connects the acceleration of atomic armament with a kind of foreign policy, the aim of which is to pull other peoples into military conflicts provoked by West Germany. Even under *Hitler,* the German militarists did not dare to wage war against the Soviet Union without help. They were joined by Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and Finland in their war adventure, and misused even the occupied lands for their robbery and conquest of the first socialist country of the world.

When the Bonn revanchist politicians are pinned down to their territorial demands, they piously assure us, they will use nothing but peaceful means to achieve their aims. Unlike some credulous western diplomats, the peoples know by historic experiences what the conclusion of this statement means: that they will us force, if the peoples declined to fulfill their demands.

Even in his war speech on September 1st, 1939, *Hitler* pretended, it would be a lie, *"if throughout the world it would be maintained, that we* (i. e. the German imperialists – O.W.) *merely under pressure tried to put through the revision of the status quo".* In "Signale", the book already mentioned, the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht in 1944 still justified the "European new order" by kindling the Second World War as follows:

"that Germany in the last instance was forced to speed up matters by force, which could be rendered effective even voluntarily."

After suitable armament, the German militarists too will "speed up matters by force",

which they cannot do while assuring the world of their peaceloving intentions. They are already preparing the west German population for this.

These facts clearly show, how necessary it was, that the delegation of the German Democratic Republic at the Geneva Foreign Minister's Conference resolutely opposed the revanchist policy and atomic armament of the West German state. It corresponded to the historical mission of the GDR as the western outpost of the socialist camp. It is part of the contribution of the GDR to threngthen the socialist camp.

A Barrier of Peace against the dangerous "Drang nach dem Osten"

When the German Democratic Republic was established, her aged President, *Wilhelm Pieck*, stated, that the struggle of the all-German National Front for the unity of Germany and a just peace treaty had entered a new phase by setting up the German Democratic Republic. Looking back, today we can say, that our Republic has always remained loyal to this task. In almost innumerable proposals and offers by the President, the Government, and the GDR People's Chamber to the corresponding institutions of the Federal Republic, ways were pointed out towards rapprochement, towards understanding and to negotiations in which the call for a final conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany was one of the main ideas.

All these proposals and offers were rejected by the militarist and revanchist rulers in Bonn. They considered the reunification to be a question of the surrender of the German Democratic Republic to the control of West German imperialism and the extension of its military power to the Oder-Neisse-border. The State Secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office, *van Scherpenberg* in June, 1959, in the official "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesrepublik", unabashedly declared:

"On the grounds outlined, the tension in the political world would be barely noticably reduced by reunification. In itself, it would signify practically, only a power growth for the West and a perceptible decrease in the power of the east."

This is how the ruling circles of West Germany conceive the reunification, and accordingly they hope to put through their plans for Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The hate and enmity of the West German revanchists and militarists is not only based on the fact, that in the GDR their power has been eliminated forever and that socialism is being successfully built. They also hate the German Democratic Republic, because it is the first peace state on German territory, which indefatigably stands as a peace barrier against their policy of aggression, their "Drang nach dem Osten". A flood of provocation and slander daily and hourly surges against the German Democratic Republic, which is above all directed against the leading political party in our country, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, against the democratic and economic and cultural successes of the GDR.

The people of the German Democratic Republic and their State institutions are forced to use much money and energy, in order to protect themselves from the espionage and undermining activities, which are carried on from West Germany against our Republic and against the other Socialist countries. The West German militarists and revanchists not only struggle against every reduction in tension in international relations, on the contrary, they attempt also to exploit every critical and difficult situation to actively struggle against the people's power in the German Democratic Republic. This was particularly obvious after *Stalin's* death in 1953, when the imperialist powers believed the situation to be ripe for a fascist putsch in the German Democratic Republic, and when they applied every method, from false provocative popaganda to sending armed agents. Also during the Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956, there was no shortage of attempts to start unrest or even armed incidents in the German Democratic Republic. All counter-revolutionary plots however were turned back or nipped in the bud.

Under the leadership of the SED which carried on a consistent struggle against all manifestations of revisionism, the working

class, together with the farmers and the intellectuals, moved unswervingly forward on the path of stengthening the Worker's and Farmer's power and socialist construction. Particularly in critical moments of the international situation, the correctness of *Walter Ulbricht's* statement at the Fifth Party Congress of the SED was proved.

"The more firmly the Worker's and Farmer's power in the Geman Democratic Republic is established, the more secure will be peace in Europe."

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Government of the German Democratic Republic consider it as their highest international duty, to contribute to strengthening the socialist camp by application of all their power. They know, that the unity and firmness of the socialist camp is *"the most certain guarantee for national independence and sovereignty of each country, the basis for a successful struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace, the strongest support of freedom and independence of all peoples, and the prerequisite for the triumph of the socialist world system."*[8]

In the aggressive plans of West German militarists and some reactionary circles of the western powers, Berlin plays a special role in the struggle against the socialist camp. By means of the occupation regime, West Berlin has become an actual swamp of espionage and an agent's center. In West Berlin the agents and spies are equipped with false papers, weapons, poison, means for committing arson, explosives and radio equipment. They are trained here for their criminal activities in the German Democratic Republic, and in other socialist countries. The Lord Mayor of West Berlin is not ashamed to declare the special task of the "front city" of the cold war to be disturbing the peaceful socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic and in other socialist countries. The danger, deriving from West Berlin, however, is still greater. West Berlin and West German politicians consider the occupation regime in West Berlin to be a trip wire, the touching of which would release war. In other words, the "front city" of West Berlin is a permanent threat to peace in Europe.

Starting from the real situation in Germany and from the danger, incorporated by the development in West Berlin, the German Democratic Republic placed the struggle for a peace treaty and for minimizing the danger of the tensions in the foreground of her internal and external tasks. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, more precisely, with both German states, would create the internal and external conditions for a peaceful development of Germany as a whole, and for friendly relations to all its neighbours. It would assure the peoples, who were the victims of the German militarist's aggression in two World Wars, that there would be no repetition of the war crimes of the past, because the dangerous rearmament and atomic arming of West Germany would be ended. It would also open, however, a perspective of free economic and cultural development for the entire German people.

The behaviour of the West German delegation to the Geneva Foreign Minister's Conference in 1959 against the peace treaty, and the enormously increased revanchist provocations during the conference however have shown, that the Bonn government does not intend to give the German people and the peoples of Europe this guarantee for peaceful existence. Precisely for this reason the struggle for a peace treaty must remain on the agenda until a change in West Germany clears the way for successful peace negotiations. The conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states would also bring a regulation of the West Berlin problem, acceptable to all sides. Overcoming this dangerous leftover of the Second World War would be advantageous for the people in West Berlin and the entire German people as well as the peoples of Europe. Aware of its responsibility, the German Democratic Republic will continue its efforts to convert West Berlin into a demilitarized, free city.

The struggle of the German Democratic Republic against militarism and atomic war preparations in West Germany, for the conclusion of a peace treaty, and the normalization of the situation in West Berlin repre-

[8] Resolution of the Fifth Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

sents the national interests of the German people, and it promotes the preservation and gives a guarantee of peace in Europe. Peace however, today is a fundamental condition for rapid development of the productive forces and successful construction of socialism and communism in the socialist countries.

On the International Significance of the Construction of Socialism in the GDR

The imperialists and their theoretic and journalistic writers, who no longer can deny, that at present one-third of humanity lives and supports socialism, like to pretend, as Dr. *Adenauer* recently, that socialism is suitable only for backward peoples. In Europe, it is only fit for the Slavic peoples. In the German Democratic Republic, however, socialism is being built in a highly developed industrial country.

With pride and satisfaction, the workers of our Republic look at the results, which they have achieved under exceptionally difficult conditions. The beginning of the building of socialism was burdened by the inconceivable effects of *Hitler's* criminal war. *In our part* of Germany, *Hitler's* generals applied the policy of death zones. *In this country* the last decisive battles against the Wehrmacht were fought. Consequently, the destruction was incomparably greater than in West Germany. Even the air raids were more devastating than in West Germany.

In addition, the division of Germany produced the result that the processing industry of the German Democratic Republic was cut off from her old sources of supply on the Rhein and Ruhr. Only 2.3 per cent of the iron ore mining took place on the territory of the GDR. The division not only resulted in a discrepancy between the raw materials industry and the processing industry, but also brought out significant discrepancies within other branches of industry.

The starting position for the reestablishment of the political economy was incomparably worse and more difficult in the German Democratic Republik than in West Germany. In spite of that, by 1955, the gross industrial output reached the pre-war level. In that year, the GDR reached the fifth place in industrial output in Europe.

On the occasion of the Leipzig Spring Fair 1958, sensible and honest western economists stated, that the *"real economic miracle in Germany is to be found in the GDR."* It was possible for the workers, farmers, technicians, engineers, and scientists to accomplish this miracle, because the development of public ownership and cooperative ownership had released the creative ability of all labourers in a way, impossible under capitalism. It enabled them, to overcome difficulties, primarily, when reestablishing the economy, and afterwards, when they started building socialism. Thanks to the highly developed industry and its other economic powers, our Republic now plays an important role in the economy of the socialist camp. The GDR is second after the Soviet Union in industrial production. The share of the GDR, in the foreign trade of all socialist countries, has risen from about 9 per cent in 1950 to 14 per cent in 1955. 75 per cent of the foreign trade of the GDR comes from trade with the socialist countries. The metal working industry, the heart of the GDR exports, in 1958 covered 52 per cent of all exports. Of this, more than half was heavy machine construction, general machine construction and complete industrial installations. A further significant share of the exports consists of chemical products, half of them being raw materials, the other half finished goods. These facts underline the importance of the contribution of the GDR industry to the industrial development of the socialist nations economies.

The more the idea of peaceful coexistence spreads in the world the stronger peaceful competition will be between socialism and capitalism. Just like the labourers in all socialist countries, the GDR workers make strong efforts in order to win this peaceful competition, in the decisive sphere of human life, in the area of material production. The Fifth Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany designated as the main economic task to *"develop the economy of the GDR within a few years in such a way, that the superiority of the socialist society, compared with capitalist rule, will be evident."*

This economic task is of great national and international significance. Its fulfilment irrefutably offers evidence, that socialism is superior to capitalism, even in a highly developed industrial nation such as Germany. In the west, it is frequently said, that the German Democratic Republic is the show window of socialism to the west. Such thinking expresses capitalist views. In our opinion, the supremacy of socialism can be shown here in the heart of Europe, in a country, that can in no way be described as industrially backward, but formerly belonged to the leading capitalist powers. Solving this task, strengthens the entire socialist camp and for that reason the GDR has the support of all socialist countries. An important prerequisite for realizing our plans is derived from all around cooperation with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union. Proletarian internationalism, on which cooperation is based, is expressed by the united efforts of the socialist countries, mutually helping each other in order to move forward more quickly on the path to victory of socialism. At the meetings of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, as well as in all negotiations between individual socialist countries, important actions were agreed upon to further development of economic cooperation on the foundation of socialist international division of labour. Specialization and cooperation of the most important related branches of economy in the socialist countries plays a large role, especially for the further development of machine construction. In this field, significant tasks have been assigned to the German Democratic Republic, since, next to the Soviet Union, it is the most important producer of machines among the Socialist countries. Still more than in the past, the GDR will deliver complete plants for the chemical industry and for the food producing and processing industry, will supply lifting gear and transport equipment and machine tools. In the campaign for specialization, the GDR will particularly develop those branches, which predominantly manufacture products absorbing intensive labour power, such as precision instruments, optical equipment electro-technics, directing – measuring – regulating techniques, and tool construction. It is clear, that the development of these branches is of great significance for the modernisation and mechanization of the industries in the socialist countries.

Our Republic also closely cooperates with the other socialist countries in the field of exchange of technical and scientific experiences. On the basis of agreements concerning technical and scientific cooperation up to now, among others, the GDR has turned over a large number of documents to the member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The German Democratic Republic was the general projector and deliverer in various investment projects in the socialist countries. In other cases, this country participates with other socialist countries in the solution of giant investment tasks. The GDR, in this and other ways, contributes to the higher forms of brotherly cooperation between the socialist countries in the economic field according to its ability and as far as required.

Conclusions

The contribution of the GDR to strengthening the socialist camp has various sides and levels:

1. As a country of Workers and Farmers, to whom militarism and revanchism are foreign, it protects the peaceful socialist work of construction of its labourers. The significance of this is greater since in West Germany German imperialism is again in power, who's policy of revanchism is directed against the socialist countries in Europe. The struggle of the German Democratic Republic against militarism and the preparations for atomic war in West Germany is significant for the peaceful development of all socialist nations. For this reason the western boundaries of the GDR are the mutual boundary of the socialist nations.

   "This border is, as *N. S. Khrushchow* said on July 17, 1959 at a meeting in Szczecin, *"untouchable and holy for every country of the Warsaw Pact, for the entire socialist camp, no less, than their own borders. Repeatedly, we have said and we say again*

today, that we will fight for this border against any opponent, who attempts to revise it."

2. This great community, in which the German Democratic Republic has won an established place on the basis of its achievements, will warrant both, the inviolability of the first German Worker's and Farmer's State, and its successful construction. The malicious hostility of the imperialists and militarists honours the GDR, because it is directed against the western outpost of the camp of peace and socialism. The GDR is a bulwark, which stands against the aggressive intentions and plans of the West German revanchists. The struggle of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany against revisionism and all attempts to undermine and weaken the German Democratic Republic is significant for the unity and firmness of the entire socialist camp.

3. The struggle of the German Democratic Republic for the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states, for the ending of the occupation regime in West Berlin is part of the common struggle of all socialist countries for the end of the Second World War and for the erection of a barrier against a third World War. Since enemy activity from the NATO "front city" is directed against all European socialist countries, the struggle for its transformation into a demilitarized, free city is vital to the security of the entire socialist camp.

4. In the German Democratic Republic socialism is being built with great success in a highly developed industrial land, in spite of particularly difficult conditions, the reasons for which resulted from the criminal *Hitler* war, and from the division of homogeneous German economic structure. The successful construction of socialism in the GDR has twofold significance:

Firstly, the GDR, being a highly developed industrial country, makes an important contribution to the general economic and cultural rise of all socialist countries.

Secondly, success of socialist construction in the GDR disproves all statements of the hired journalists of imperialism, according to whom, socialism can be developed successfully only in backward countries. So the GDR makes a considerable contribution to peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, and likewise for achieving peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems.

Otto Winzer
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INVESTIGATION AND SURVEY

GERHARD LINDNER

The Illegal Occupation of West Berlin

At the end of November 1958 the Government of the USSR presented its notes concerning the normalisation of the situation in Berlin. Once again it was the Soviet Government which submitted proposals for abolishing an abnormal, anachronistic situation, for abolishing a dangerous development in Germany and for peace in general.

The proposal of the Government of the USSR everywhere has evoked a lively echo. The proposal was received with consent in widening circles of the world, in socialist states as well as in non-socialist ones. Even in the countries of the capitalist West voices are increasing in number assisting the Soviet proposals directed to normalizing the situation in West Berlin and requesting a peaceful solution of the West Berlin problem. However, the Government of the Three Western Powers and the Adenauer Government refused the constructive proposals of the USSR. In the answers of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain, France and Western Germany the real contents of the Four Powers documents concerning Berlin were reproduced in a distorted and falsified manner.

In December 1958 the American Secretary of State tried to justify the occupation regime in West Berlin. Obviously the Three Western Powers had agreed upon the USA as their spokesman in order not to render publicly apparent the difference of opinions existing between them concerning their attitude towards the notes of the Soviet Government. The American memorandum was destined to mislead the nations. Its aim was to present a totally distorted picture of the legal basis of the Four Power Status of Berlin by an apparently objective investigation of the Four Power documents concerning Berlin. An attentive examination of the memorandum, however, will show the inconsistency of the conclusions contained in it.

1. The Berlin Agreements of the Year 1944

Apart from the agreements of the Three Powers at the conferences in Teheran and Moscow the first arrangements concerning the post-war status of Germany and Berlin were elaborated by the European Consultative Commission which was formed according to an agreement of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow on November 1, 1943. Members of this conference were representatives of the USSR, Great Britain and USA.[1] According to a report of its General Secretary the principal tasks of the European Consultative Commission consisted in:

> *1. "The Commission will examine European questions with respect to the termination of the military operations which the three governments will consider appropriate for charging the Commission with, and it will give its recommendations concerning these problems to the three governments . . ."*
>
> *2. "According to the desire of the Three Powers one of the first tasks of the Commission will be, to elaborate as quickly as possible detailed recommendations with regard to the conditions of surrender, which*

[1] In the European Consultative Commission the USSR was represented by F. T. Gussew – ambassador of the USSR in London –, the USA by its ambassador in London J. G. Winant and Creat Britain by W. Strang, representative of the Foreign Office (later by R. I. Campbell).

shall be put to any of the European states with which any of the Three Powers may be in a state of war; besides that these recommendations will deal with the mechanism necessary for guaranteeing the fulfilment of these conditions . . ."[2]

Occupation of Berlin in Order to Prevent another Aggression

During the first meeting of the Commission the resolution was taken *"that the first task of the Commission should be to elaborate the surrender conditions of Germany and to create a mechanism for putting into practice these conditions"*.[3] Consequently the first document concerning German problems, elaborated and signed by the European Consultative Commission was an agreement dealing with the unconditional surrender of Germany. The document was signed by the representatives of the USSR, Great Britain and the USA during the meeting of the Commission on July 25, 1944 and was confirmed soon afterwards by their respective governments.

Apart from decisions as to disarming the fascist armed forces and some others the document[4] contains the following:

"The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom will hold supreme power over Germany. In exercising this power they will take measures, including the total disarmament and the demilitarisation of Germany, as are considered necessary for future peace and for security."[5]

According to international law the Soviet Union as well the USA and Great Britain declared in an obligatory form that all their measures toward Germany should be dictated by the desire to guarantee peace after the Second World War. In this way they referred to their former declarations. As early as the Three Power Declaration, dated December 1, 1943, we find the passage:

"We are fully conscious of the high responsibility resting on us and on all the United Nations to conclude a peace . . . which will ban the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

And summing up the result of the Teheran Conference *Churchill* said that the Big Three were obliged to safeguard the world for 50 years at least by preventing rearming of Germany, by controlling German factories and by territorial changes of a comprehensive nature."[6]

This foundation of post-war policy towards Germany will likewise be found later in many international documents and it was stressed in particular in the Potsdam Agreement.

All Four Power agreements and resolutions concerning Germany and her capital – Berlin – were destined to serve this general aim. Otherwise they would have been senseless and ought to have been appreciated as an agreement concerning the annexion of Germany. However, in the Potsdam Agreement the Three Powers declared that it was not the intention of the Allied Powers *"to annihilate or to enslave the German nation"*[7], and that taking over supreme power should not bring about the annexation of Germany.[8]

These were the general aims of the Great Powers to be found in many documents – even in those that were signed long before the first Three Power – and Four Power agreements

[2] Part I of the report of the Secretary-General of the European Consultative Commission.

[3] Part II A I. of this report.

[4] The document was published – modified in some parts – on June 5, 1945, as "Declaration considering the defeat of Germany and the taking charge of supreme authority with regard to Germany by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and by the Provisory Government of the French Republic". Orginally the document was destined to be signed by representatives of the Allies on the one side and by representatives of the German Government and the German Supreme Command on the other side. However, when some time afterwards it became more and more evident that at the termination of the war no central German Government would exist, the document was renamed into a declaration. This applies also to the other Four Power Documents, published on June 5, 1945. We therefore do not consider them on the following pages.

[5] Article 12 a) of the document.

[6] Churchill: "The Second War", Vol. V, Book 2, p. 47.

[7] Potsdam Agreement, III, paragraph 3 (Quoted here and in the following text from: "Das Potsdamer Abkommen und andere Dokumente" (The Potsdam Agreement and other documents), 4. enlarged edition, Berlin 1954).

[8] "Declaration of the Four Powers regarding the defeat of Germany and the handing over of supreme power in Germany" (see "Official Newspaper of the Control Council in Germany". Supplementary sheet Nr. I).

concerning Berlin. These aims were to prevent further aggression by Germany and implicitly to prevent resurgence of German militarism and fascism. This, therefore, must be the starting point when considering the agreements which are directed at the post-war status of Berlin.

The Protocol of September 12, 1944

On this day the "Protocol of an Agreement between the Governments of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom concerning the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin" was signed by the representatives of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain. Communication concerning the ratification by the three governments was made by the representative of Great Britain on December 5, 1944, by that of the USA on February 2, 1945 and by the Soviet representative on February 6, 1945. The protocol was modified by a Four Power Agreement on July 26, 1945. This modification was made in accordance with a resolution taken by the Yalta Conference (February 3–11, 1945), by the same conference which uttered the *"inflexible will"* of the Allied Powers *"to eradicate German militarism and national socialism and to take care that never again will Germany be able to trouble world peace."*

"We are resolved", the Declaration of Yalta goes on,

> *"to disarm and to dissolve all the German armed forces; to smash for ever the German general staff which more than once brought about the resurrection of German militarism; to dismantle all militarist installations or to destroy them, to dismantle in full or to put under control German industry that might be used for military production; to bring to trial all war criminals and to cause them to be punished quickly, and to bring about a detailed reparation of the damages caused by the Germans to be implemented by real values; to abolish the National Socialist Party, the National Socialist laws, organisations and institutions, to eliminate all National Socialist and military influences from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German nation and to take measures agreed upon by all signatory Powers that are necessary for the future peace and the security of the world."*[9]

The Allied Powers considered the Agreement of September 12, 1944 as being in absolute conformity with the decisions of the Crimean Conference. Otherwise something contrary ought to have been stated expressly. In the communiqué they gave a detailed explanation of their post-war aims and outlined the deeper political meaning of the preceding agreement regarding the occupation zones and the control mechanism in Germany. In this way they confirmed that agreements concluded earlier on occupation zones and the control mechanism must not be regarded separately from the results of the Crimean Conference and that these agreements form an inseparable unity. Thus they corroborate that also the preceding agreements included voluminous rights as well as obligations for the Allied Powers with regard to preventing Germany from being ever again able to trouble world peace; and for this purpose numerous concrete measures were fixed.

The "Protocol of an Agreement between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the United States of America and of the United Kingdom about the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin" altogether consists of six articles. Three of them are important for the object of our investigations. Article I states:

> *"Germany will be divided into three zones for the purposes of occupation; each of the Three Powers will be assigned a zone, and in a special Berlin territory, occupied by the Three Powers in common."*[10]

It was stressed expressly that Germany was to be divided into three (later four) zones of occupation. Neither here nor in any other Four Power documents there are mentioned more than four occupation zones. Contrary to the

[9] Declaration of Yalta, point 2, paragraph 4 (Quoted here and in the following text according to "Potsdamer Abkommen und andere Dokumente (Potsdam Agreement and other documents), 4. enlarged edition, Berlin 1954.

[10] Quoted according to "Compilation of the contracts, agreements and conventions being in force, concluded by the USSR with foreign states", edited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Moscow, Public Publishing House for political literature 1955, Vol. II, p. 55, Russian.

statements of some Western authors there is no Four Power agreement in which Berlin was in any way mentioned as an occupation zone.

It is further stressed in Article I of the protocol that the division of Germany into occupation zones and the establishment of a separate Berlin territory was meant to serve the aims of occupation, and consequently it was subordinate to them. It is well-known that these aims had already been fixed by the Allied Powers in a general form earlier than September 12, 1944, and had developed further and specified in the following months at the Crimean Conference and in the Potsdam Agreement. Only the occupation aims fixed by the Allied Powers in mutual conformity gave to these more or less organisatorical statements contents and meaning.

Since the occupation aims were not realized by the three Western Powers, the protocol regarding the occupation zones and the administration of Greater Berlin lost its purpose.

If Article I of the Protocol of September 12, 1944, considered in itself, should perhaps render possible the idea that Greater Berlin was to be a separate part outside the occupation zones, Article 2 will prove the contrary. There is to be found a description of the three (later four) occupation zones. According to this article the Soviet zone covers all territory of Germany (in conformity with the frontiers of 1937) east of the present frontier between the GDR and West Germany. The territory of Greater Berlin was not excluded from the territory of the Eastern zone. It was only decided that for the territory of Greater Berlin *"a special occupation order"*, a special occupation procedure was to be fixed.

This *"Special occupation order"* consisted in Berlin being occupied in summer 1945 by all the Four Powers and an inter-allied Kommandantur being established for the common administration of the territory of Greater Berlin.[11] Article 5 of this protocol reads: "An inter-allied Kommandantur will be established with the three military commanders as members who will be appointed by their respective commander-in-chief."[12] This special condition resulted from Berlin being the capital of Germany and Berlin being destined to be the seat of the central Allied organs of occupation. The task of these organs consisted in democratizing the whole of Germany, starting from its capital Berlin and assisted by the democratic forces of the German nation.

Consequently that means that the question of the territorial affiliation must be separated from the question of who will occupy and administer the territory. Territorially Berlin belonged to the Soviet zone of occupation. Otherwise Greater Berlin ought to have been excluded expressly in the description of the existing Eastern zone.

Of course, a different solution was unthinkable for Berlin. Greater Berlin was inseparably connected with its natural hinterland. Separating Berlin from the Soviet occupation zone would produce earnest consequences for the German capital. It is precisely the economic development of Western Berlin which confirms that its isolated situation, originated as the result of the Western splitting policy, renders impossible a sound and normal development.

Consequently the Allied Powers have intentionally made a distinction between exercising *"supreme power"* in their occupation zones, and in questions regarding Germany as a whole, and the *"joint administration"* of Greater Berlin. So the whole of the Berlin water-ways, the traffic installations of the German state reailways and quite a number of buildings and installations in Western Berlin remained under Soviet administration. This proves that the three western powers only had administrative rights in Berlin – apart from their right regarding joint occupation. The territorial sovereignty over the whole of Ber-

[11] Article 2 and 5 of the Agreement of September 12, 1944.

[12] In accordance with this article the Interallied Military Kommandantur for Greater Berlin charakterised itself in its communiqué of July 10, 1945, as "an Interallied power for the common administration of the territory of Greater Berlin". ("Die Berliner Konferenz der drei Mächte. Der Alliierte Kontrollrat für Deutschland. Die Alliierte Kommandantur der Stadt Berlin." Sammelheft I, SWA-Verlag, Berlin 1946, S. 89.) (The Berlin Conference of the Tree Powers. The Allied Control Council for Germany. The Allied Kommandantur of the City of Berlin. Compilation Vol. I. SWA-Editors, Berlin 1946, p. 89.)

lin rested on the other hand with the commander-in-chief of the Soviet zone of occupation. The "supreme power" of the Soviet zone of occupation was restricted only by the agreement regarding the special status of Greater Berlin which gave the three western powers

a) the right of taking part in the occupation of Berlin and

b) the right of collaboration in the joint administration of Berlin in the shape of the Allied Kommandantur.[13]

The description of the occupation zones of Germany as given in Article 2 of the Protocol of September 12, 1944 refutes in an unequivocal manner another statement recently advanced at by imperialistic authors. According to this statement large parts of Saxony and the whole of Thuringia were incorporated in the Soviet zone of occupation because the USSR had agreed to troops of the Western Powers taking part in the occupation of Berlin. Allegedly the western powers never would have abandoned Saxony and Thuringia, if they had not been granted the right of occupation in Berlin or if they had known that their position in Berlin evèr would be contested.

You will look in vain in the reports of the European Consultative Commission for hints that would confirm such a version.[14] This is comprehensible for at the moment of the signature of the London Protocol of September 12, 1944. Saxony, Thuringia, Berlin and many other parts of Germany had not yet been occupied at all. It was impossible to foresee whose armed forces would be there first. Nevertheless it was agreed that Thuringia and Saxony should be part of the Soviet zone of occupation. Consequently the later progress of military events, the advance of American forces into these parts of the then Eastern zone, had not the least influence upon the fixation of the occupation zones and upon the status of Berlin.

The Protocol of November 14, 1944

If we want to give a judgement of the actual legal status, the "Agreement regarding the Control Mechanism in Germany"[15] is of extraordinary importance. This agreement was signed in the European Consultative Commission on November 14, 1944. The information about the confirmation by the three governments was given by the British representative in the European Consultative Commission on December 5, 1944, by the representative of the USA on January 14, 1945, and by the Soviet representative on February 6, 1945.

In the same way as in the Protocol of September 12, 1944,

> *" 'supreme powers' in Germany was to be realised according to article 1 of this abovementioned agreement by the commanders-in-chief of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom by each of the commanders according to their instructions by their governments, as well as in collaboration about questions concerning Germany as a whole. These commanders were members of the supreme controlling organ formed according to the present agreement."*

Consequently the commanders-in-chief had supreme power in their occupation zones.

In virtue of Article 3 of the Agreement on the Control Mechanism, dated November 14, 1944, one of the functions of the Control Council was *"the direction of the administra-*

[13] As to this see Kröger: Zu einigen Fragen des staatsrechtlichen Status von Berlin, "Deutsche Außenpolitik", No. 1/1958, p. 10. (Concerning some questions of the legal status of Berlin.)

[14] It is remarkable that according to a report regarding the activity of the European Consultative Commission by P. E. Mosely it was even the British representative who under the date of January 15, 1944 (the first session of the European Consultative Commission took place on January 14, 1944) submitted a proposal concerning the formation of occupation zones; according to this proposal the whole of Saxony and the whole of Thuringia were to be part of the Soviet zone of occupation. "The area which it proposed for Soviet occupation was the one which was accepted later by all three powers", we read in Mosely. ("Foreign Affairs", vol 28, No. 4. p. 589.) The American Government consented to the British proposal after a short time. Contrary to that there was for many months a constant tug of war between the USA and Great Britain, which of the two was to overtake the southern and which of the two the north-western zone (cp. ibid. p. 592).

[15] Cp. "Compilation of the contracts, agreements and conventions being in force, concluded by the USSR with foreign states", edited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Moscow, Public Publishing House for political literature 1955, Vol. II, p. 55, Russian.

tion of Greater Berlin by way of corresponding authorities." This authority which the Control Council made use of for the administration of Berlin was the Interallied Kommandantur which just as in article 7a) of the above-mentioned agreement also here was designated as an authority "*for the joint administration*" of Berlin. According to article 7b) the Interallied Kommandantur was to come into operation under the general direction of the Control Council and was to receive orders through the Co-ordination Committee.[16]

Consequently the Interallied Kommandantur was subordinated to the Control Council in questions regarding the administration of Berlin – it had no other power. When, therefore, in 1948 the Control Council was blown up by the three western powers, the logical consequence was that the Interallied Kommandantur ceased working and neither functioned in the ensuing period. By the dissolution of the Control Council the Interallied Kommandantur had lost its right of existence. Nevertheless the representatives of the Western occupation troops in West Berlin even today pretend that the Interallied Kommandantur continues to exist, although there is no Four Power base. Apart from this there is a significant decision in the agreement regarding the control mechanism Article 10 says:

> "*The above-mentioned authorities of the Allied Powers for controlling and administering Germany will be in operation in the course of an initial period of the occupation of Germany; this period follows immediately the capitulation, i. e. in the course of a period in which Germany is implementing the principal requests of an inconditional surrender.*"

And the representatives of the three powers in the European Consultative Commission declared in the joint report to their respective governments on November 14, 1944:

> "*We recommend that the tasks of the controlling authorities ... should be implemented in as short a time as possible ...*"

The duration of the activity of the Four Power authorities therefore was restricted from the very first. They were to implement their functions as quickly as possible and were then to be dissolved.

However, sometimes certain authors refer to article 11 of the Agreement of November 14, 1944. According to this article the question, which organs of the Allied Powers were to carry out the functions of controlling and administering in Germany in a later period of occupation was to be settled in another agreement between the three (later four) powers. This article reads:

> "*The question which authorities of the Allied Powers shall carry out the functions of control and administration in a later period will be the object of a special agreement between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom.*"

But even from these decisions it is impossible nowadays to deduce any rights of the three western powers. Nearly 17 years after the termination of the hostilities there is no occasion or right whatever to still concede functions of control and administration in Germany to the three western powers. He who takes an opposite point of view, ignores the existence of two independent states in Germany, he desires the extension of the occupation of West Berlin to all Germany. An opposite point of view means denying such fundamental principles of international law as the principle of non-interference of the right of self-determination of the nations, of sovereignty and others. These "arguments", by which any rights are to be deduced for the three western powers from Article II of the Agreement of November 14, 1944, are therefore aimed at maintaining and deepening an anachronism and these arguments are opposed to the most elementary standards of international law.

Rights and Obligations are inseparably connected

The thesis made by statesmen of the three western powers and of the Federal Republic that the status of Berlin has nothing to do with the Potsdam Agreement deserves special attention, because the status had been fixed long before the Potsdam Agreement by the

[16] With regard to the Coordination-Committee cp. the articles 4 and 5 of the Agreement concerning the Control Mechanism of February 14, 1944.

Protocol of September 12, 1944. *Dulles*, for instance, declared at a press conference on November 26, 1958, that the rights and the status of the Allied Powers in Berlin and the responsibilities and obligations of the Soviet Union were in no way deduced from the Potsdam Agreement. It would be true that this subject was not mentioned at all in the Potsdam Agreement.[17]

Minister Lemmer of the Adenauer Government affirms e. g. that

> *"the Potsdam Agreement is dealing unequivocally with the question only of an agreement concerning the democratisation of Germany and clearing her economic structure. The Potsdam Agreement has nothing to do whatsoever with the occupation. Therefore it may be doubtful whether one or the other of the Allied Powers may have violated the Potsdam Agreement in any way.*[18]

All these assertions will not stand a serious investigation. They cannot be proved either from the legal standpoint or from any other. The only aim of these affirmations is to convince uninformed people that the USSR is *"committing a breach of contract."*

First of all Herr *Lemmer* and others of his kind conceal that in international law there is a principle according to which the victorious powers in a war not only have extensive rights but also obligations.

This principle has been recognised generally. It has been mentioned even in quite a number of documents of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition, as in the Declaration of Yalta, in the Potsdam Agreement and in others. These obligations of the victorious powers were obligations towards the other treaty partners, towards their own nations, towards the people of other states which had suffered by the Second World war unleashed by Hitler-Germany, and ultimately towards the German nation. Their highest contents was the obligation not to permit a repetition of peace endangering actions by German imperialism and militarism.

Besides this fundamental obligation the victorious powers solemnly took charge of a number of other tasks during the war as well as after the war. The implementation of all these tasks was directed towards one goal – the decisive liquidation of a militarist development of the German nation with the active cooperation of German democratic forces. This was in accordance with the desires and the longings of all nations.

Therefore, if Herr Lemmer writes that regarding the Potsdam Agreement it is the question "only" of an agreement concerning the democratisation and the economic structure of Germany, nothing but the disdainful opinion of the Bonn rulers on the aspirations of the nations towards peace and security is released without the engagements entered into by the powers of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition in Potsdam and Yalta for democratisation, demilitarisation and denazification – all the other agreements signed by them would have been deprived of their concrete contents of warranting peace. Without these obligations and agreements the occupation of Germany would be nothing but an act of despotism.

The powers of the former Anti-Hitler-Coalition had been fully alive to this fact. They, therefore, specified the principles of their post-war policy towards Germany, proclaimed already during the war with such a minuteness, and developed them further; therefore they agreed at Potsdam to an extensive set of principles, the fulfilment of which will enable the German nation of one day *"being restored to its place among the free and peace-loving nations of the world."*[19] The Three Powers – USSR, USA and Great Britain – at Potsdam fixed the political and economic principles of their policy towards Germany "in the period of Allied Control."[20] The Control Council and its authorities were respectively charged with realising them, or with supervising their realisation. Consequently it was not the Control Council that determined the principles of the Allied policy towards Germany after the downfall of the Hitler state. The Control Council was only an executive"- or controlling authority in all questions regarding Germany as a whole –

[17] "New York Times" of February 28. 1958.

[18] Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesrepublik of February 22, 1958.

[19] Potsdam Agreement, part. III.

[20] ibid.

this may be recognised besides by its name alone.

At the Potsdam Conference the resolution was taken *"that the special questions concerning the mutual adaption of the Allied policy as to the control over Germany in future shall be subject to the competence of the Control Council in Berlin."*[21]

There can be no doubt about the intimate connection between the Potsdam Agreement and the agreements concerning the control mechanism and the occupation zones. Consequently the statement made by the western powers and Bonn that the Potsdam Agreement has no connection at all with the occupation proper of Germany must be unequivocally refuted.

In accordance with the generally recognised principles of international law the agreement signed in 1944 about the occupation zones in Germany and the control mechanism were followed by the resolutions of the conferences of the Allied Powers during and after the war. Rights and obligations of the powers of the former Anti-Hitler-Coalition are therefore inseparably linked. It is impossible to claim nothing but rights, as the three western powers have been doing for a long time, without fulfilling their compulsory obligations relating to international law. That is simply a breach of contract, the evident violation of another generally acknowledged principle of international law – "pacta sunt servanda" (contracts must be observed).

It must be stated, however, that the Potsdam Agreement is connected inseparably not only with the other agreements about the occupation zones in Germany and the control mechanism, but is also connected with them by direct references in its text. Here we find the passage:

> *"The aim of this agreement is the accomplishment of the Crimean declaration concerning Germany.*[22]

Consequently the Potsdam Agreement was the direct immediate continuation of the results of the Three Powers' Conference at Yalta. It is well-known, however, that at Yalta also the resolution was taken, *"that France shall be called on by the Three Powers to overtake an occupation zone and to join the Control Commission as fourth member, if she should desire to do so."*

And the three powers go on declaring: *"The boundaries of the French zone will be fixed by the four interested Governments through their representatives in the European Consultativ Commission by mutual consent."*[23]

This resolution resulted later, under the date of July 26, 1945 and May 1, 1945, in a modification of the protocol concerning the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin as well as of the agreement regarding the control mechanism in Germany.

The inseparable connection of the above mentioned documents can be demonstrated even in another direction. As early as July 25, 1944 the document concerning the unconditional surrender of Germany, signed in the European Consultative Commission, provided that in executing supreme power the three powers should take such measures *"including total disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany, as are considered necessary for peace and general security in times to come."*[24]

In its preamble the protocol regarding the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Berlin expressly refers to this agreement concerning the unconditional surrender of Germany, attained at in the European Consultative Commission. We find the following passage there:

> *"The Governments of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have agreed on the following agreement concerning the implementation of article 11 of the document concerning the unconditional surrender of Germany . . ."*

It is further stressed in article I of the protocol, dated September 12, 1944, that the formation of three occupation zones (later

[21] Potsdam Agreement, part. II.
[22] Potsdam Agreement, part. III.
[23] Declaration of Yalta, point 2.
[24] Article 12 a) of the document.

four) in Germany was undertaken in order to realise the "aims of occupation". The aims of the occupation of Germany, however, were fixed by the three powers on their conferences during the Second World War, and at Potsdam they were formulated in details.

Consequently the Allies fully realised that a more or less detailed explanation of the principles of their post-war policy towards Germany was still to follow the agreements about the occupation zones and the control mechanism. This has been undertaken at Yalta and Potsdam where agreements have been concluded about the most important questions of the post-war status of Germany.

With the occupation proper of Germany the Potsdam Agreement is connected much more closely than the preceding agreements of September 12, 1944 and November 14, 1944 and this connection is much more intimate than it may be agreeable to imperialist politicans, the reason is easily understood.

The Potsdam Agreement is not only inseparably conncected with the Three Powers' (later Four Powers') Agreements. It is on the contrary the basic document which was to determine the post-war policy of the Allied Powers towards Germany and the development of Germany. It paid regard to the bitter experiences which the nations had made with German fascism, with the rapacious and ruthless German imperialism.

„The Potsdam Agreement . . . was a generalisation of the historic experiences of the combat of the nations for preventing an aggression by German militarism."[25]

This document contains the aims of occupation of the Allied Powers in an international obligatory form. At the same time the prospects of a democratic peaceful life become visible to the German nation and the possibility of living with equal rights at the side of the other nations in a unitary state. German militarism was to be eradicated completely and fascism was to be annihilated. All the military and fascist organisations, including the *"associations and sub-organisations which serve the interests of preserving military traditions"* were to be dissolved entirely *"in order to prevent for ever in this way the resurrection or reconstruction of German militarism and nazism."*[26]

The political life of the German nation was to be democratised and a peaceful cooperation of Germany in international life was to be prepared. The war-criminals were to be duly punished. All members of the NSDAP (with exception of the nominal ones) were to be removed from administration and from all responsible positions of economic life. The Potsdam Agreement provided for the weakening of the monopolies. During occupation time Germany was to be regarded as an economic unity and a number of important state secretariats were to be formed.

All these basic decisions rendered the Potsdam Agreement a document of historic importance. Its accomplishment was the principal task put before the Allied Powers in their policy towards Germany and before the democratic forces of the German nation after the termination of the Second World War. Consequently the realisation of the democratic contents of the Potsdam Agreement which was to prevent a future menace to peace by German imperialism touched the basic interests of the nations, especially of all European nations. The importance of the Potsdam Agreement extends far beyond the frontiers of Germany, even far beyond the frontiers of Europe.[27]

From an investigation of the documents constituting the Four Power status of Berlin consequently result the following principal conclusions:

1. The Potsdam Agreement is the basic agreement for estimating the Berlin status. According to its contents as well as formally the Potsdam Agreement is inseparably connected with the other Three-

[25] Note of the government of the USSR to the government of the USA, "Neues Deutschland" of February 28, 1958.

[26] Potsdam Agreement, III, A. 3. (I) a.

[27] Some other documents, as e. g. the New York Agreement of the Four Powers of May 4, 1949, and some resolutions of the Control Council or of its organs which concern the ways of communication of the GDR, used by the three western powers are of only subordinate importance, because they are derived from the basic documents treated here. We therefore may decline their investigation.

(later Four-) Power Agreements, including the Protocol of September 12, 1944, and the Agreement of November 14, 1944.

2. Berlin has been given a status of its own, because it was the capital of Germany and as such was to become the seat of the central organs of occupation, who were to realise the occupation aims contained in the Potsdam Agreement.

3. Berlin never has been occupation zone No. 5, but always remained incorporated in the then Soviet zone of occupation. The Western Powers always had only administrative rights in Berlin, whereas the supremacy over the whole of Berlin was always lodged with the commander-in-chief of the Soviet zone of occupation and later passed on to the government of the GDR.

4. The authorities of occupation, formed within Germany, were to be in action only during the course of the initial period of occupation which followed immediately upon the surrender, i.e. during the time when Germany fulfils all principal claims of the unconditional surrender.

II. The Occupation Regime in West Berlin violates International Law

For almost 17 years foreign troops have been stationed in West Berlin. For more than 16 years they had the opportunity of realising the basic aims of the occupation of Germany: democratisation of the whole political, economic and cultural life, the annihilation of Hitler-Fascism and the removal of all its supporters from the state apparatus and from the leading positions in economic life, smashing of militarism, preserving the unity of Germany with Berlin as its capital. The three western powers, however, never aspired to any of the basic aims which had been fixed in the Potsdam Agreement and in other Four-Power Documents for the occupation of Germany. On the contrary, in the course of the last 16 years they have systematically undermined the Four-Power status assisted by the Federal Republic and the West Berlin administration. They shamefully abused the rights belonging to them on the base of Three-Power- or Four-Power-Agreements.

Breach of the Potsdam Agreement

Since 1945 the Three Western Powers violated their obligations regarding the contents and aims of their occupation policy which they had contracted by the Four Power Agreements, especially by the Potsdam Agreement. In particular the three western powers did not execute on the territory of the present Federal Republic the economic and political democratisation measures, provided for in the Potsdam Agreement. On the contrary, they more and more allowed and promoted a restoration of the forces of German imperialism in their former occupation territories. The result of this policy found its visible expression in the incorporation of the Western occupation zones in the Marshall Plan, in the formation of the Bi-Zone, in the implementation of a separate currency reform and ultimately in establishing a separate German state – the Federal Republic.

Particularly the currency reform, implemented by the three western powers in West Berlin caused the economic splitting of Berlin. In spite of the common regulation of the governments of the USSR, Great Britain, France and the USA, issued in August 1948, according to which the German mark of the then Soviet occupation zone was to be introduced as the only Berlin currency and according to which the Western B-Mark was to be taken out of circulation, the separate currency reform of Western Germany was extended also to West Berlin. In this way the joint Four Power Administration of Berlin was undermined. The separate currency reform in West Germany and West Berlin was contrary to the Four Power decisions according to which Germany was to be considered as an economic entity and according to which measures regarding Germany as a whole were allowed to be executed only in common by the commanders-in-chief of the four occupation zones.

As known, this unlawful act of the three western powers ultimately caused one part

of the Berlin magistrate to leave the legal seats of office of the general Berlin administration in October and November 1948 and to start forming a separate West Berlin administration in the Western sector under the protection and patronage of the western powers of occupation. In this way even the political splitting of Berlin was carried out and the common administration of the German capital by the Inter-Allied Kommandantur was rendered impossible.

The right of participation of the three western powers in the military occupation and in directing the administration of Greater Berlin by this time had lost its political sense and its legal base which consisted in the status of Berlin as the capital of a united Germany and as the seat of common central controlling authority of the four occupation powers.

Incorporation of West Berlin into the Adenauer State?

In 1955 the Federal Republic was incorporated into the NATO. Especially since that year more and more declarations of the West Berlin ruling circles were issued in favour of the incorporation of West Berlin into the Federal Republic. The West Berlin Senate made the incorporation into the Adenauer state the supreme principle of its policy. Thus Herr *Suhr*, then chief of the West Berlin separate administration, declared on February 3, 1955 in the West Berlin Parliament:

> *"... this policy of incorporation will be continued by the Senate up to the day when the aims has been attained that Berlin in every respect and without restriction is a part of the Federal Republik with equal rights."*[28]

His successor, Herr *Brandt*, on May 8, 1955, on the day when the Paris Agreement came into force, once more stated:

> *"It is a fact and it will remain a fact that Berlin is part of the Federal Republic according to the constitution."*[29]

[28] Shorthand report of the West Berlin Parl., 1955, p. 13.

[29] Shorthand Report of the West Berlin Parl., 1955, p. 173.

The Adenauer Government and the West Berlin Senate have for years assumed the incorporation of West Berlin into the Federal Republic with tacit toleration of the three western powers. Today it is clear and evident for anybody what the meaning of these declarations is: incorporation of West Berlin into NATO, into the western war-pact system, into a state which already today is being pilloried by the nations on account of its reactionary and war-mongering policy, a state in which the democratic forces are suppressed and reaction is promoted, in which a clerical-militarist dictatorship has been established which claims foreign territories and in which atomic rearmament is in full swing.

Incorporation of West Berlin into Western Germany – that means incorporation into a state which from the day of its foundation, established by order from abroad, and in contrast to the Four-Power decisions has disregarded the Potsdam Agreement. *Dulles* himself has openly declared which part he has attributed to Western Germany in contrast to the Four-Power resolutions. He has stated in his book "War or Peace?", that by drawing Eastern Germany into the sphere of influence of the West the Federal Republic may be able to gain an advanced strategic position in Central Europe which will undermine the Soviet-communist military and political position in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other adjacent countries.[30]

Such is the task given by *Dulles* to the Federal Republic; such a task is aggressive and ridicules all Four-Power Agreements. In accordance with such a task the Adenauer Government has built up its general policy. The government of the GDR proved this convincingly and irrefutably by a voluminous material of facts made known in a recently published memorandum entitled "Memorandum Regarding the Menace to Peace from Rearmament Policy of Western Germany."

The policy of the Adenauer Government causes a growing distrust and nervousness among the nations of Western Europe.

[30] J. F. Dulles: "War or Peace?" – German edition, Humboldt Verlag Vienna 1950, p. 163.

Have the governments of the three western powers already forgotten what immense sacrifices the policy of German imperialism caused in the past? The role of German militarism resurrected in Western Germany is being recognised more and more distinctly by the nations, more and more frequently even bourgeois politicians raise their warning voices against the dangerous policy of the ruling circles of the Federal Republic.

One of the leading British Labourites, *Aneurin Bevan,* declared full of bitterness in the House of Commons on December 4, 1958, in view of the development in Western Germany that Great Britain has arrived where it had started. Nothing at all had been learnt. *N. S. Khrushchow* had been perfectly right when he stated that the enforced rearmament of West Germany was a cause of deep concern for Russia."[31]

The Adenauer Government, however, did not only refuse execution of the Potsdam Agreement and the other Four-Power decisions, it even tried to deny their importance for the German people and qualified them as an "intervention" – being measures in contrast to international law. Prof. Dr. *Erich Kaufmann,* expert of the Foreign Office in Bonn and spokesman of the Adenauer Government in the terror trial against the West German Communist Party declared before the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe on December 7, 1954:

"The general principles of the Potsdam Agreement deal with problems of the inner structure of Germany: decentralisasation, education, democratic parties, removing National Socialists from leading positions in politics and economy, decartelisation and the like. But all these things are home affairs of Germany; and it is a general rule of international law that any intervention into the home affairs is forbidden ... But just these interventions into the internal affairs of Germany are the task which the occupation powers have made their business. Therefore the occupation of Germany has been characterised directly as an intervention occupation. The powers of occupation have been fully alive to the fact that their interventional measures are contrary to the intervention injunction of the general international law; but their opinion was – right or wrong – that they were allowed and obliged to do so on account of the special situation of Germany."[32]

If the Adenauer government holds this opinion, why does it deny that the reunification of Germany under the present conditions of the existence of two German states and 17 years after the termination of the war is only and solely an affair of the German nation and why does it demand the interference of the four victorious powers into our home affairs? At the same time the Bonn Government conjures the three western powers not to abolish the occupation regime in West Berlin, although the continuous occupation of West Berlin by the USA, Great Britain and France is a genuine interference in the international affairs of the GDR, to which the whole of Berlin as its capital belongs.

The declarations of the West Berlin Senate concerning the incorporation of West Berlin into the Federal Republic were more and more coupled with practical measures designed to incorporate West Berlin into the western pact system and which will greatly enable resumption of armament production. To these measures above all belongs the adoption of the Bonn "Law regarding the Safeguarding of Achievements in the Domain of Industrial Economy" by the West Berlin Parliament on February 25, 1957.[33] Behind this law is concealed the fact that from this date armament production for the NATO could be started. According to its article 1 the law is to safeguard "the implementation of international law obligations" of West Germany and "the implementation of its measures of defence." The law contains a far-reaching authorisation of the Bonn Government and the Bonn Minister of Economy for taking economical measures for incorporation the AEG- and the Siemens shareholders, the total West Berlin economic potential into

[31] Cp. "Daily Express" of December 5, 1958.

[32] Protocol of the trial against the Communist Party of Germany (7. day, p.1–2).

[33] "Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für (West-)Berlin" of March 8, 1957.

the armament business of the German monopolies for the NATO. To the alleged international law obligations of the Federal Republic belong also the obligations from the North Atlantic Pact, the Brussels Pact about the "West European Union" etc., and as it was particularly stressed that the law must warrant also the implementation of the "defence measures", there can be no doubt about its character. By incorporating West Berlin enterprises into the armament business simultaneously the slight increase of the West Berlin economy would be accelerated.

In the meantime armament production in West Berlin is running at high speed. The West Berlin Telefunken A. G. produces e. g. devices for air traffic control, signalling equipment for warships, wireless devices and radar installations for NATO and the Bundeswehr (Federal Army). This war production is transported to West Germany in sealed military trains and in military planes as military goods of the three western powers. Consequently the ways of communication through the territory of the GDR are abused by the three western powers for purposes which are in direct contrast to the Four Power decisions concerning Germany and Berlin.[34]

A further measure for incorporating West Berlin into the Federal Republic and NATO, incompatible with the Four Power decisions regarding Berlin, was the resolution of the West Berlin Parliament of December 5, 1957 concerning the extension of the treaties regarding the so-called European Atomic Community and the so-called Common Market to West Berlin. In this way the West Berlin Parliament took a dangerous measure for incorporating West Berlin into the aggressive NATO; for it is well known that the treaties concerning "Euratom" are the economic bases of NATO. Both treaties are designed for war preparation. They favour the development of West German militarism and strengthen the influence of the monopolies. On account of their contents and their aims both treaties prevent the laxation of tensions in Europe. The treaty about the "Common Market" builds up new obstacles on the inner German market and on the international market as a whole. The inevitable consequence of the "Euratom" and "Common Market" treaties will be a further deepening of the splitting of Germany. By adopting both treaties the West Berlin Parliament embraced the Bonn policy of incorporating West Berlin into NATO. Many states refused to acknowledge these treaties and this became evident at several meetings of the UNO and in negotiations in the frame of the "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade" (GATT), but in spite of that these treaties were put into force for West Berlin on January 1, 1958. Once more it became apparent that the West Berlin Parliament was ready to go on assisting the front city policy of the West Berlin Senate and to render West Berlin a NATO base. Therefore it is evident, these two treaties are contrary to the occupation aims of the Potsdam Agreement and of other Four Power Agreements and contrary to the interests of the citizens of West Berlin and contrary to the interests of the whole German nation.

Hotbeds for Spies, Agents and Money-Changers

The results of the nearly 17 years occupation of West Berlin by the USA, Great Britain and France are evident nowadays for everybody. Contrary to the engagement entered into in the Potsdam Agreement *"to decentralise as quickly as possible German economy with the aim of abolishing the existing excessive concentration of industrial power, represented especially by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopoly-associations"*[35] the same concerns are dominating again in West Berlin today as during the period of the Hitler-dictatorship – the *Krupp, Klöckner, Mannesmann, Siemens, AEG and so forth.*

The procedure of concentration and centralisation of capital takes place with an extraordinary rapidity. From 1950 to 1956 e. g. the portion of factories with more than 1,000

[34] Further informations concerning the armament production in West Berlin in "Neues Deutschland" of December 25 and 28, 1958.

[35] Potsdam Agreement, III, B 12.

employees in West Berlin rose by 100 per cent, whereas the portion of plants with 1–9 employees decreased within the same period by 25 per cent.[36]

As early as 1957 40 per cent of all the workers and employees employed in industry worked in 0,6 per cent of all West Berlin industrial plants.[37] According to the Potsdam Agreement all members of the Hitler Party who had been more than nominal members were to be removed from public and semi-public offices and from responsible positions in industry, but the law, decided upon in the Berlin Parliament in February 1947 "regarding the expropriation of war criminals and responsible Nazis" was not carried out. Today in West Berlin 23 Hitler judges again administer "justice"; in the West Berlin Senate administration are employed at least 18,000 officials of the fascist state; one third of all members of the police are former active nazis or SS-men; 50–60 per cent of all employees in the West Berlin courts of justice are former nazis and war criminals etc.[39]

According to the Potsdam Agreement the three western powers are obliged to execute the total demilitarisation of Germany and to prevent any nazi and militarist activity and propaganda.[40] But today the atomic equipment of the Bundeswehr (Federal Army) under the command of former Hitler Generals is in full swing, in West Germany and in West Berlin there are numerous military associations and fascist organisations, e. g. the association of former members of the fascist "Bären-Division", the "Kyffhäuser-Bund", the "Stahlhelm" and many others. The Potsdam Agreement provided for complete removal of all nazi and militarist teachers from education and also provided its democratisation.[41] But once more fascist products such as Hitler's "Mein Kampf" are recommended for use in West Berlin schools. On the other hand nazi atrocities and the facts of anti-fascist resistance are kept secret from the boys and girls.[42]

According to the desires of the three western powers and their German accomplices West Berlin is planned to become a NATO base and to be preserved as a shelter of cold war and of espionage centres. This was proved by the American espionage tunnel in Alt-Glienicke; as well as by more than 50 West German and foreign intelligence organisations which have been founded in West Berlin,[43] it was proved by the treatment of the Soviet Berlin notes at NATO sessions, as well as by the declaration of Herr *Brandt* that West Berlin ought to be anxious "to render more and more difficult and to slow up the consolidation in the Soviet zone as far as possible."[44] Proof of that is the reorganisation of the sixth American Infantry Regiment stationed in West Berlin in order to prepare it for atomic warfare, and the construction of subterranean store rooms for atomic weapons[45] etc. etc. And for all this the West Berliners and the West German workers must pay per year far more than 200 million D-Marks of occupation expenses.

Even the reactionary West Berlin daily "Tagesspiegel" had to comment on conditions in West Berlin under the occupation regime. Having made a comparison with Shanghai before the establishment of people's power as the best *"hotbed for news-dealers, spies, agents and money-changers"* and with Tangiers

36 "Deutsche Außenpolitik", No. 8/1958, p. 727.

37 ibid. p. 728.

38 Potsdam Agreement, III, A 6.

39 "West Berlin – Hort der Reaktion, Herd der Kriegsgefahr". Eine Dokumentation des Ausschusses für Deutsche Einheit. (West Berlin – Shelter of Reaction, Focus of the War-Danger.) Documentation of the Committee for German Unity.

40 Potsdam Agreement, III, A 3, I and III.

41 ibid. III, A 7.

42 Das Schulwesen in Westberlin, eine Dokumentation des Ausschusses für Deutsche Einheit. (Education in West Berlin, documentation of the Committee for German Unity. p. 9.)

43 To the American intelligence- and agents-organisations, which from West Berlin implement their subversive activity against the GDR and the other states of the socialist camp, belong above all:
CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)
MIS (Military Intelligence Service)
MID (Military Intelligence Detachment)
AIS (Air Intelligence Service)
ONI (Office of Naval Intelligence)
CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps)
OSI (Office of Special Investigation)
(Memorandum of the government of the GDR Regarding the Menace towards Peace of the Armament Policy of Western Germany. p. 13.)

44 "Neues Deutschland" of May 14, 1958.

45 "Pravda" of February 17, 1958.

– *"a paradise for uncontrollable speculation and activities of all kinds which were directed by mysterious back-field men employed in the secret service of revalling powers"* the "Tagesspiegel" draws the suitable conclusion:

"We may be almost entitled to feel neglected by the novelists who made Shanghai and Tangiers famous and notorious in many thrillers", because things in West Berlin are similar according to the opinion of the "Tagesspiegel". And a little further on you may read: *"As long as the causes for the actual state of things cannot be removed, people must take into account that West Berlin will keep its attraction for adequate activities and the elements belonging to them."*[46]

How long will the Occupation Regime in West Berlin continue?

No one can say, in view of these results produced by the occupation regime during almost 17 years, that the Western Powers had complied with the obligations assumed by them in the Potsdam Agreement and in other Four Power documents. In view of this development, what basis is there for the three western powers still to enforce rights which were to be effective only for an initial period of control?

Moreover, nothing has remained of the authorities which were provided in the agreements by which the USA, Great Britain and France try to prove their "rights" in Berlin. It is remarkable that with regard to West Germany the three western powers have drawn this conclusion as early as 1954, although with significant limits. In the treaty of October 23, 1954, between the USA, Great Britain and France on the one side and West Germany on the other side the three western powers declared the occupation regime in the Federal Republic to be formally repealed.

The three western powers are forced to admit *"that the period in which Germany was executing the basic decisions of unconditional surrender has ended long ago."*[47] But this is by no means connected with real conclusions corresponding to reality. On the contrary, they affirm that the Protocol of September 12, 1944, concerning the occupation zones in Germany, does not contain any decisions which restrain its effectiveness upon the initial period of Allied control. They also affirm that this protocol does not contain any hints that the occupation rights of the three western powers depend on attaining the occupation aims. Consequently they seriously affirm that independent of the implementation, or the non-implementation of the aims and principles of their policy towards Germany, decided upon by the Four Powers in common, the occupation rights of the western powers continue to exist. In other words, in spite of innumerable breaches of contract the western powers intend to continue occupation in Germany. That is the distorted logic for perpetuating the occupation of the western zone and of West Berlin by the USA, Great Britain and France. This means that they do not want to stay in West Berlin and in West Germany in order to realise the occupation aims agreed upon during the Second World War and immediately afterwards on the Four Power basis, but in order to continue their policy of rearming Western Germany and incorporating West Berlin into NATO.

However, this standpoint of the western powers is not only contrary to the national interests of the German nation and to the interests of European peace, but is also absolutely contrary to international law. According to Article 1 of the Protocol regarding the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin of September 12, 1944, the occupation zones and the common administration of Greater Berlin were designed to realise the aims of occupation. In this article it is stated unequivocally:

> *"Germany will be divided into three*[48] *zones for occupation purposes; to each of the three powers will be assigned one zone, and in a special Berlin territory which will be jointly occupied by the three powers."*

Consequently, the Protocol as a whole was subordinated to the aims of occupation.

[46] "Tagesspiegel" of February 3, 1957.

[47] "Concerning the juridical aspects of the Berlin problem", Memorandum of the State Department of the USA of February 20, 1958.

[48] Later four.

In the meantime two independent states have arisen in Germany and the Three Power- (later Four Power) Agreement which were to be effective in the initial period of Allied control, have been undermined by the three western powers. Only an empty cover has remained which is used by the USA, Great Britain and France as a disguise for their machinations directed against the German nation and peace. Consequently the Protocol of September 12, 1944, as well as the other documents mentioned in the Soviet Berlin notes are subject to nullification.

Legal Consequences

The lively response produced by the Soviet notes regarding the Berlin question is rich in voices which stress that the three western powers are liable for breach of contract.

"La Tribune des Nations" e. g. wrote on December 12, 1958:

"The Allied have impudently violated all essential clauses of the Potsdam Agreement on account of their anti-Soviet fanaticism; they have torn to pieces this pact upon which Moscow lawfully built up its European policy. How can we now have the audacity to demand that Moscow acknowledge the clause regarding Berlin, when we, in spite of the lively opposition of the Russian government did not consider the treaty concluded with the Allies? How can we demand the employment of the additional clauses, if we ourselves do not take into consideration the principal clauses which we have approved?"

Contrary to all facts, however, the three western powers accuse the USSR of breach of contract and contest the right of the Soviet Union to denounce the (Three) Four Power Agreements regarding Berlin, whose effectiveness was limited to the first years after the surrender of Germany.

Even among bourgeois scientists of international law there will be found scarcely anybody who in the case of evident and constant breaches of contract, will deny the other partner the right of abolishing the contract concluded. In the literature of international law there exists a complete unanimity that the partner true to contract is entitled to abolish agreements broken by the other side. It may be sufficient to consult at random some compendiums of international law in order to find this statement confirmed.

Thus, e. g. one of the leading bourgeois scientists in international law, *Verdross,* writes:

„It is generally acknowledged that in bilateral state contracts a contract partner may resign the contract, if the other partner has violated treaty."[49]

And concerning multi-lateral contracts *Verdross* writes:

"On the other hand in collective contracts a right to resign exists only, if all other partners have violated the treaty . . ."[50]

In similar manner such a well-known scientist in international law as *Oppenheim* writes:

"Violation of a treaty by one of the contracting states does not ipso facto cancel the treaty; but it is within the discretion of the other party to cancel it on this ground.[51]

Jessup, the American scientist of international law whose intimate relations to the State Department of the USA are known, likewise states the right of the party true to contract to dissolve the contract on account of violation by another partner. He wrote:

"Another principle of traditional international law entitles a state to denounce a treaty in case of a material breach of contract by the other party."[52]

Even *Kaufmann,* one of the most reactionary scientists of international law of our times. (he had been sitting as expert of the Bonn Foreign Office in the terror trial against the German Communist Party) declared before the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe on December 7, 1954 that an agreement, violated by one or several contractors remains in force until the signatory state or the states *"draw the consequences which they are entitled to draw according to international law,*

[49] A. Verdross: Völkerrecht (International Law), 3. edition, Vienna 1955, p. 152.

[50] ibid. p. 153.

[51] Oppenheim-Lauterpacht: International Law, Vol. I, 8. edition, London – New York – Toronto 1955, p. 947.

[52] Philipp C. Jessup: "Modernes Völkerrecht" (Modern Internat. Law), Humboldt Verlag, Wien-Stuttgart, 1950, p. 211.

that is, to denounce the agreement on account of it being violated by the other party."[53]

Such is the legal state of things: The three western powers have turned the Four Power Agreements concerning Berlin into a scrap of paper, and therefore the declaration of the Soviet Union is in absolute conformity with international law. The Soviet Union declared that she regarded "the Protocol of the Agreement between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom regarding the occupation zones of Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin of September 12, 1944, and the additional agreements associated with it, including the Agreement concerning the Control Mechanism in Germany between the Governments of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France of May 1, 1945, i. e. Agreements whose effectiveness was calculated for the first years after the surrender of Germany, as being invalidated."[54]

The Arguments of the Western Powers are not Valid

Evidently the western powers are conscious themselves that the argumentation of their position based upon the (Three-) Four-Power Agreements is unfounded and therefore not convincing even for large parts of world publicity. Therefore, in their answering notes to the Soviet proposals, in the memorandum of the American Secretary of State and in a number of official declarations, they have brought forward further *"arguments."* According to these arguments the rights of the three western powers allegedly result, properly speaking, not from the Potsdam Agreement and from other agreements of the Allies, but from the unconditional surrender, from the total defeat of Germany.

In the American memorandum e. g. we read:

"The rights (the rights of the USA in Germany and in Berlin – G. L.) *result from the total defeat of the Third Reich and from the subsequent taking over of supreme power in Germany."* And further the memorandum affirms: *"The rights of each occupation power exist independently from each other and form the basis for the different agreements in which were fixed the territories and the methods by which these rights are to be executed."* The Soviet Union therefore is not entitled (according to the memorandum) *"to injure the rights of the three western powers by declaring null and void agreements, because the rights exist independently from the Soviet Union."* It is generally known that in 1945 the victorious powers took over supreme power and at the same time extensive rights after the unconditional surrender. Nobody will contest that. But the three western powers try to use this fact for constructing a second basis of rights for continuing the occupation regime in West Berlin, a basis, independent from the (Three-) Four-Power Agreements. This argument of the western powers is directed against their own conception of the "Four Power Status of Berlin". If the rights of the USA, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union exist independently from each other, then each of the occupation powers might have acted according to its own whims without caring for the mutual agreements entered into. If further, the rights of each occupation power had been the base for the (Three-) Four Power Agreements entered into, this evidenty should mean that the right of occupation needed no special agreement at all, that it is valid automatically, even without any agreement, and that it is insignificant whether the existing agreements are being abolished according to their sense and wording or not.

It is absolutely irrelevant from which point of view this thesis of the three western powers is considered, the result will always be the same. This affirmation represents the attempt to degrade the (Three-) Four Power Agreements into second class rights, or to push them aside altogether. This cannot be altered even by the fact that the memorandum of the USA enters into these agreements rather minutely, though avoiding all decisions disagreeable for the western powers. Whosoever affirms that the rights of the western powers had existed independently from the Soviet Union, and that the rights of an occupation power had

[53] Protocol of the trial of the Communist Party of Germany, 7. day of trial, p. 10.

[54] Note of the Government of the USSR to the USA, "Neues Deutschland", of February 28, 1958.

existed independently from the right of any other occupation power, denies the obligation of the four powers for a uniform policy towards Germany and its capital Berlin.

Thus, the same point of view of the western powers becomes apparant which they practised so obviously in Germany during the 16 years after the war and which resulted in the splitting of Germany and in that disastrous development in West Germany. Such an attitude can be appreciated only as complete ignoration of the obligation of international agreements in general and of the Allied Agreements regarding Germany and Berlin in particular.

By these affirmations the three western powers ignore international law according to which the victors in a war not only have rights but also have obligations, and they adopt the point of view of conquerors whose principles are: power is above the right. The point of view of the three western powers that their rights are based, even today, after two sovereign states have developed within Germany, solely upon the total defeat of Hitler Germany, proves that they would like to maintain the occupation regime in West Berlin even for 50 or 100 years based on their rights forfeited long ago, resulting from the unconditional surrender of Germany.

This statement has been confirmed in the meantime by the western powers themselves. In the British answer note it is stressed expressly in point III, 3, that the western powers do not intend to leave West Berlin *"as long as there is no solution of the German problem."* And Mr. *Dulles* has declared frankly, as you know, that the German nation should have patience for 50 to 100 years with regard to reunification. The apparent juridical conception of the western powers consequently is a perpetuation of the occupation regime in West Berlin.

In the attitude of the western powers towards the Soviet Berlin proposals repeatedly becomes apparent who values the national rights of the German nation, and who is ready to open new prospects for solving the national problem in Germany. The Soviet Union proved once more, it is the true friend of the German nation.

On the other hand the three western powers in their answer notes to the government of the USSR have combined their apparent readiness for negotiations with conditions which aim solely at the failure of eventual negotiations. According to an old practice, the West Berlin question is combined with a number of other international problems not yet solved at the present moment. Herr *Adenauer* is seconding them in their doing so and declares in an interview with the "Münchener Merkur":

> *"The Berlin question is part of the German question. This again is a question of European security. And the security problem is combined most intimately with questions of a general and controlled disarmament."*[55]

And now the conclusion is drawn out of these arguments that the disarmament problem should be solved first, before the West Berlin problem could be taken into consideration. In consequence of the destructive attitude of the three western powers, the disarmament question cannot be solved at the present time, and therefore fruitful negotiations corresponding to the true interest of the German nation concerning the West Berlin problem will be prevented. The western powers and their German traitors of the *Adenauer* and the *Brandt* type want to perpetuate in this way the occupation in West Berlin.

The time is ripe for a withdrawal of the western occupation forces from West Berlin and for abolishing this cancerous ulcer, this shelter of cold war on the territory of the GDR. Abolishing the occupation regime in West Berlin would give the inhabitants of West Berlin at last the possibility to decide themselves all questions of their life; peace and security in the whole of Berlin can be warranted only by transforming West Berlin into a demilitarised Free City. The peaceful solution of the West Berlin problem would also create favourable conditions for solving the German problem and would be useful to European security. Therefore every democratic and peace-loving German heartily welcomes the proposals of the government of the USSR.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 3, 1959)

[55] "Münchener Merkur" of December 31, 1958 and January 1, 1959.

ALEXANDER MARTIN

West German Revanchism and International Law

The West German NATO Republic is the only European state that is demanding a revision of existing borders. Revanchism is the guiding light of the Bonn home and foreign policy, a programme of action for the rebirth of German militarism that today saturates the entire public life in West Germany.

The results of the Second World War caused great difficulties for German monopoly capitalists. Large areas, important production capacities and millions of workers were lost. In the eastern part of Germany the workers and farmers came to power, destroyed imperialism and militarism and are currently completing the building of Socialism.

The Bonn Government wants to prevent an official end to World War II by all means. It is the aim of West German revanchism to revise the results of two world wars, by means of cold and hot war tactics, in favour of German imperialism. German imperialism wants to make up for the losses suffered in World War II and regain the position they held before and during the war. In order to accomplish this, the Adenauer Government has adopted home and foreign policy measures which mean terror for anti-militarists, economic, military and "moral" armament, diplomatic threats and slander, hate campaigns against all east European states, the organization of sabotage and subversion, rejection of all proposals and measures which could lead to a relaxation of international tension and the stubborn refusal to establish normal relations to its eastern neighbours. All of these measures serve the aims of *Adenauer's* policies of revenge, territorial expansion and subjugation of other peoples.

German militarism has a tradition of developing its aggressive programmes in stages. We only need to recall the speech made by *Adolf Hitler* on November 23, 1939 to the top commanders of the Wehrmacht:

"One year later came Austria ... and this step ... led to the strengthening of the Reich. The next steps were Bohemia, Moravia and Poland. But these steps could not be taken at one time. First it was necessary to complete the western wall. It was not possible to accomplish all of these tasks at one time. From the very first moment, I was sure that I could not be content only with the Sudeten German regions. This was only a partial answer. The decision to invade Bohemia had already been made. This was followed by the establishment of a protectorate which gave us the basis for conquering Poland."[1]

The present aggressive plans of German militarism are also to be accomplished in three phases.[2]

The First Stage: Annexation of the German Democratic Republic by Force

The German Democratic Republic is one of the most important obstacles on the road to the realization of the plans of German revanchists. It is the first German State which completely abolished the disastrous past, that is the aggressive policies of German militarism. The lessons taught by two World Wars have been taken to heart in the GDR and militarism has been completely eliminated. The GDR strives for a peaceful and democratic development in all of Germany. This country is closely allied with the neighbouring states of Poland and Socialist Czechoslovakia, which are two main targets of West German revanchism. The GDR is prepared to aid in protecting the territorial integrity of these states, as they have pledged to consider any attack on the German Democratic Republic as an attack on themselves.

Bonn intends to start the first attack against the GDR. The revanchists intend to celebrate their first victory here. The aim is to reverse

[1] Quoted from the sentence in the trial of major Nazi war criminals before the International Military Court in Nuremberg. In: Steiniger, Der Nürnberger Prozeß, Vol. I, Berlin 1957, p. 139.

[2] Cp. "Wir warnen! Die deutschen Revanchepolitiker bedrohen den Frieden." Published by the Institute for International Politics and Economy, Prague 1959.

the radical changes that have taken place in the eastern part of Germany as a consequence of World War II. The socialist accomplishments of the workers and farmers, this bastion of peace is to be destroyed. The revanchists want to destroy the effects of the GDR peace policy, they want to hand over the material assets to German militarists in order to form the basis for their aggressive policies. GDR State Secretary *Otto Winzer,* wrote in the special edition of "Deutsche Außenpolitik" (German Foreign Policy) published on the 10th anniversary of the GDR:

> *"The hate and enmity of the West German revanchists and militarists against the German Democratic Republic are not only based on the fact that their power is wiped out for ever and that Socialism is being successfully built. They also hate the German Democratic Republic because it is the first peace state on German territory. This is an insurmountable peace barrier blocking the West German revanchists 'Drang nach dem Osten'."*[3]

Bonn's revanchists have prepared their aggression against the GDR with propaganda calling for "unity in freedom" and "liberation of the Germans in the Soviet Zone". *Adenauer, Strauss, Lemmer* and *von Brentano* are using the ardent desire of Germans in East and West for reunification to expand the rule of militarism over all of Germany. On June 14th, 1959, Federal Chancellor *Adenauer* again stated what kind of a reunification he wanted in a speech to the CSU Party Congress in Munich:

> *"We should not talk about the reunification of Germany so much but rather of the liberation of 17 million Germans from Communist slavery."*[4]

Adenauer's Foreign Minister declared some time ago:

> *"We will do everything possible to an extreme, I repeat everything possible and to an extreme to regain the Soviet Occupation Zone."*[5]

"Everything possible to an extreme" – that is clear and easy to understand: The West German Government plans to annex the German Democratic Republic by military force.

When we examine these facts, we find the answer to the question being asked all over the world as to why the Bonn Government continues to follow the unreal thesis of the continued existence of only one German state while on the other hand refusing to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic.[6] This thesis, which was refuted at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference in 1959, was drafted by the nazi diplomats in the Bonn Foreign Office in order to give the planned aggression against the GDR the character of a police action of the "legitimate German Government" in an internal affair of the German State, which would be above the competence of any other Government or State.

However, today there is no doubt as to the de facto and international position of the GDR.[7] Therefore, any attack by military units of the West German Federal Republic against the GDR would be a breach of international law. It would be aggression, for which the Federal Republic would be responsible under international law along with its leading political, military and economic leaders just as Göring, Keitel and Krupp were held responsible for their actions in the past. Such an attack would be an aggressive act against those peaceful states that have made use of their right to collective security. It would be a casus foederis under the provisions of the 1955 Warsaw Treaty.

Any attempt to solve the question of German reunification by force would mean war, not only for the German people but for all European peoples and possibly this war would draw other countries of the world in its wake. It is therefore in the interest

[3] "Deutsche Außenpolitik", Berlin. Special Edition III/1959, p. 27.

[4] "Neues Deutschland", Berlin dated 15. 6. 1959.

[5] "Bayerisches Volksecho", Munich, dated 8. 3. 1952.

[6] Adenauer underlined this standpoint in a radio adress on February 13th, 1957: "There are not two German States – there is only one German State. The so-called German Democratic Republic is not a state . .." (Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesrepublik from 14. 2. 1957.)

[7] From the numerous publications, we call attention to Pinto: The International Status of the German Democratic Republic, "Journal de Droit International", Vol. 86 (1959), p. 313; as well as Martin: Es gibt zwei deutsche Staaten, "Deutsche Außenpolitik", Berlin No. 10/1957, p. 834.

of all peoples to struggle for the security of the territorial integry of the German Democratic Republic against the threatened attack of West Germany militarists. The Soviet draft peace treaty for Germany, published on January 10th, 1959 obliges the signatory states to support a peaceful reunification on the basis of a nearing of the GDR and the Federal Republic. The draft treaty takes this situation into consideration in article 22, which says in part:

> *"The German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic solemnly promise not to resort to the use of force to bring about the reunification of Germany or to threaten the use of force and that all differences that come about in the relations between them be settled by peaceful means."*[8]

The GDR Government has given its full support to this principle and has proposed that a non-aggression pact be signed between the GDR and West Germany. Such an agreement would introduce a change in the relations of the two states and would create favourable conditions for understanding toward the normalization of conditions in Germany.[9]

But the Bonn Government is not prepared to give up its aggressive programme and has refused to sign an agreement whereby it would be obliged to reject the use of force. The refusal to sign a non-aggression pact can only be evaluated as an admission that the Adenauer Government is not prepared to abandon its aggressive plans. But *Adenauer's* refusal does not change the legal situation: An attack on the GDR would be a breach of the ban on aggressive action which applies to all states – including the Federal Republic.[10]

In this connection it must be underlined that not only open aggression but the current planning, propagation and preparation of the "liberation" of the GDR are breaches of the ban on aggression and international law and are crimes against peace. The statute for the International Military Court which was adopted and contained in the Four Power Conference in London on August 8th, 1946 proves this by defining crimes against peace in article 6a as:

> *"Planning, preparing, introducing ar carrying out a war of aggression which breaks international treaties, agreements or guarantees or participating in a mutual plan or plot to carry out one or more of the afore mentioned acts."*[11]

The criminal character of the aggressive plans against the GDR is increased by the fact that this is only the first step in the revanchist programme of German militarism. No one less than the West German Foreign Minister *von Brentano* publically announced the connection between the first and second steps in the revanchist programme:

> *"The agreements signed between us and our allies will at first apply to the question of reunifying the 17 million Germans on the other side of the Iron Curtain in the middle*

8 The German text of the proposed Peace Treaty with Germany as put foreward by the Soviet Union in "Deutsche Außenpolitik", Special edition 1/1959.

9 Cp. Speech of the GDR Foreign Minister, Dr. Bolz, at the meeting of the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference on 5. 6. 1959, and "Neues Deutschland" dated 6. 6. 1959.

10 The West German Government declared before the Karlsruhe Constitutional Court during the unconstitutional trial of the German Communist Party, that the West German Federal Republic was not bound by the international law banning aggression (cp. Kaufmanns "Entgegnung" (Reply) to the remarks of the trial representatives of the German Communist Party on December 7th, 1954, "KPD-Prozess. Dokumentarwerk", Karlsruhe 1955, Vol. I, p. 225;

After the Trial, von Winterfeld tried to strengthen the argument of the Federal Government with the allegation that the ban on aggression is not principle of international law but rather only a political one. (von Winterfeld: Das Potsdamer Abkommen, die Westdeutsche Verfassung und die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands, "Europa-Archiv" 1956, p. 9206)

Article 2, paragraph 4 of the United Nations Charta obliges all states "to refrain from all threats of force or the use of force in their relations with other states with respect to territorial rights and political independence or from other actions that are contrary to the United Nations Charta." (Cp. details contained in an article by Steiniger: Die Definition der Aggression im Völkerrecht, "Deutsche Außenpolitik" No. 9/1958, p. 836)

This ban on aggression contained in the United Nations Charter obliges all states, also such as West Germany, which are not members of the organization to follow this principle, regardless if the state involved has signed the Charter or not. Op. in particular Steiniger: "Deutschland und die Vereinten Nationen", "Deutsche Außenpolitik" No. 8/1959, p. 847 and pp. 852–856.

11 Steiniger, ibid. p. 77; Cp. particularly Trainin, The Defence of Peace and the Struggle Against Crimes Against Humanity, Moscow 1956, pp. 79–179 (Russian), and Sharmasanashvili, The Non-Aggression Principle in Interntional Law, Moscow 1958, (Russian).

zone. This is the primary question. The complete satisfaction of our other demands on eastern territories could be problematic if we do not show our determination and willingness to sacrifices for the sake of reunification with the 17 million in the Soviet Occupation Zone."[12]

The Second Step: The Restoration of the 1937 German Borders

The revanchist demand of the Adenauer Government for the restoration of Germany's 1937 borders is aimed primarily at the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Poland. The new German–Polish border on the Oder and Neisse Rivers, which was finally established by the Potsdam Conference in 1945 is the object of a vicious hate campaign.

"I have said very clearly", said *von Brentano* on May 2nd 1956 in an address on the South-West Radio Service, *"and I repeat again today: There is no Federal German Government either today or tomorrow that will recognize the Oder-Neisse line as the border of Germany."*

In 1954, *Adenauer* declared before the West German Bundestag (Parliament) that his Government *"would never agree to the loss of the German eastern territories"*.

"They consider this area as territory of the German State".[13] The government has directed the entire public life in West Germany in this direction. For example, the Bonn Minister of the Interior ordered that all offices *"should remove all maps and drawings that did not show the German borders as they were in 1937."*[14]

Minister of the Interior *Schröder* makes no secret of the motive behind this order:

"The Federal Republic is Germany ... All other German territories must be returned."[15]

In order not to bore the reader with a repetition of such quotations, we will not repeat similar remarks from *Adenauer, von Brentano, Seebohm* and *Oberländer*[16] which clearly show that the return of the areas of the Oder and Neisse Rivers is a part of the West German Government programme. In view of these facts, what should one say to the remarks of *Lemmer* who said on September 6th, 1959 in a speech at the West Berlin 'Waldbühne' to a revanchist meeting under the slogan "Day of the Homeland" that, the policies of the Federal Government were in no way revanchist?[17]

Bonn knows only too well that the peoples absolutely reject the revanchist demand to revise the German–Polish border.[18] This was the reason behind the stalling on signing a non-aggression pact with Poland, a manoeuvre that was easy to see through in view of the refusal to sign a similar pact with the GDR. Ambassador *Grewe*, who represented the Bonn Government at the Geneva Conference propagated, in an article published in the West German magazine "Europa-Archiv", that the problem of the German eastern border be removed from a peace treaty and handled separately.

"The solution of this problem should be reached in negotiations between the two

12 "Das Parlament", Bonn, dated 9. 5. 1956. Federal Minister Seebohm made a similar statement at Whitsun 1957: "The joining together of ‚middle' (the GDR – transl.) and West Germany ist only a small reunification. But this must only be the –first step . . ." (quoted from "Wir warnen!" ibid. p. 30).

13 "Protokolle des Bundestages", Session of 21. 10. 1954, p. 1501.

14 "Ministerialblatt des Bundesministers des Innern", dated 16. 12. 1953.

15 "Industriekurier", Düsseldorf, dated 13. 6. 1953.

16 See "Wir warnen;", ibid. p. 31.

17 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", dated 10. 9. 1959.

18 This has moved many representatives of the ruling circles in West European countries to call on the Federal Government to declare the border as final. For example, the London "Times" wrote on September 4th, 1959 that Bonn should consider a declaration on the border that recognizes the border as clearly as it really exists.

Also interesting is a declaration issued by de Gaulle at a press conference on March 25th, 1959: The reunification of both parts into a united Germany that is completely free seems to us the normal course for the German people "provided that such a reunification does not bring about border questions in the west, east, north or south". ("Le Monde", dated 26. 3. 1959.)

Others who have spoken out for recognition of the Oder-Neisse border are: the Christian Social President of the Belgian Senate, Paul Struye ("Libre Belgique", dated 11. 5. 1959), the British Minister of Defence, Shinwell, French Senator Marius Moutet in an interview with the Polish newspaper, "Tribuna Ludu" (1. 9. 1959) and French Senator Henry Thorres, Chairman of the French Radio and Television Programme Council (ADN report from 11. 6. 1959).

interested parties in which both sides have the freedom of decision . . ."[19]

However, if the German militarists and their State were given the *"freedom of decision"*, the experience of the peoples of Europe with German militarism show which *"solution of the question"* would be the result. On June 28th, 1959 in Cologne, *Adenauer* stated very clearly the way in which the Bonn militarists hoped to develop German–Polish relations. He said:

"There will be the time, when the German people will wish friendly relations with the Polish people. I say distinctly with the Polish people because we know that the present people in power in Poland are inseperable allies of Moscow. We also know, however, that the Polish people wish to live Christian lives in freedom, as we do."[20]

The aim is clear: First, the people's democratic system is to be eliminated and Poland to be separated from its friends. On this basis, a weakened Poland should be forced to negotiate with "freedom of decision" so that a solution favourable to the German militarists can be forced. This would also remove any resistance to the old "Drang nach dem Osten" (drive to the east). This plan has only one mistake and that is that the Polish people are unwilling to cooperate.

The Legal Basis of the German–Polish Border

The representatives of the international law field in West Germany support the hate campaign against the Oder-Neisse peace border with pseudo-juridical allegations. These correspond with the West German revanchist cries when the tone is somewhat more moderate. But in the end it all means the same: Germany has suffered an injustice as the eastern borders were adjusted without the approval of the Bonn government which was neither asked for nor needed and now the borders are final. The German–Polish border should be decided in a *"free, mutual decision between the two parties, Germany and Poland"*.[21]

What is the true legal status?

In the draft peace treaty for Germany, the Soviet government made the following proposal in regard to the German–Polish border:

"In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, Germany rejects all rights, titles and claims to former German territories east of the line from the Baltic Sea somewhat east of Swinemünde, along the Oder River to the Czechoslovak border. This includes the former territory of East Prussia and the former city of Danzig. This entire territory is now an integral part of People's Poland and this fact is recognized by Germany." (Article 9a)

This border fixation contained in Paragraph IX of the Potsdam Agreement is a direct result of the aggressiveness and invasion policies of German imperialism and militarism.[22] Regardless of the suffering caused to the German people by this decision, it is just and the only possible consequence of the expansionist policies of the German junkers and militarists, which reached its zenith in World War II and cost the Polish people immeasurable sacrifices. During five years of Hitler-fascist rule in Poland, more than 6 million people lost their lives. This means that nearly every fourth Pole was murdered by the nazis. The Polish people lost nearly 38% of their national wealth, valued at 258,000 million prewar Zlotys. In addition the Polish people lost 162,000 living quarters, 354,000 farms, 968,000 small farms and gardens and about 20,000 industrial objects. The loss of cultural and art centres cannot be measured.

The never-ending "drive to the east", which has been a part of reactionary German policy for one thousand years has often been an extreme danger to the physical and national existence of the Polish people. The German-fascist attack on Poland on September 1st,

[19] Grewe: "Ein Friedensvertrag mit Deutschland?" "Europa-Archiv", 1959, 9/10. p. 319.

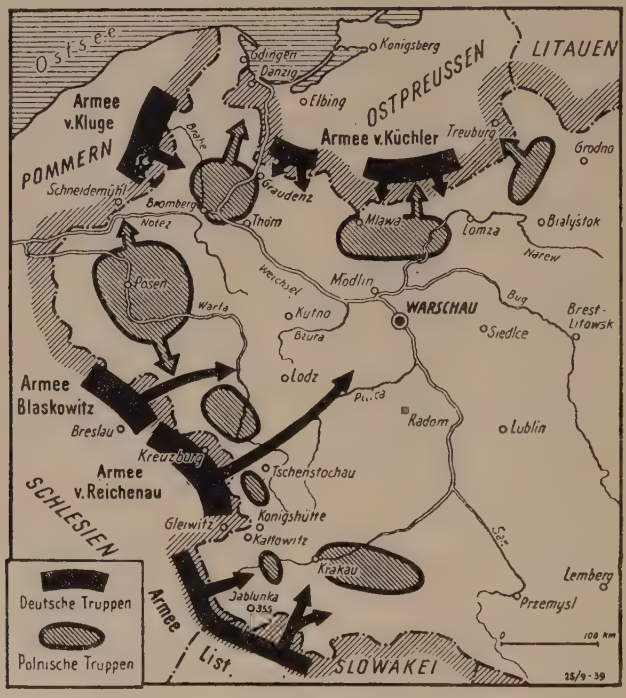
[20] "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", dated 30. 6. 1959.

[21] Scheuner: Der sowjetische Friedensvertragsentwurf vom 10. Januar 1959 (II), "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", dated 16. 7. 1959.

[22] Cp. Government Declaration delivered by Walter Ulbricht, First Deputy Prime Minister to the GDR Parliament (Volkskammer) on January 21st, 1959 and "Neues Deutschland", dated 22. 1. 1959.

1939 was only one link, even though the most disastrous, in a chain of aggressive acts against the peoples of the east and in particular against Poland.

The readjustment of Germany's eastern border made by the Powers in Potsdam was meant to eliminate any new aggression against the peoples of the east. The straight, short border today assures Poland a maximum defensive possibility while the border established between 1919 and 1939 invited the flanking attack of aggressive German militarism and offered favourable jumping off points for action against Poland and other eastern countries. These flanking attacks originated in East Prussia and Upper Silesia.[23]



This map, which was published by the "Voelkischer Beobachter" on September 25th, 1939, shows that the border laid down in Versailles was particularly favourable to German militarists and their aggressive plans in 1939. The map shows the jumping off points of the German and Polish Armies on September 1st, 1939.

Certainly, this new border alone could and cannot prevent a new war. But in connection with other measures contained in the Potsdam Agreement and re-stated in the Soviet draft peace treaty it could be an important step toward the preservation of peace in Europe.

Now the Adenauer government and the "expellee associations" which were created by the Bonn Government will cry out in chorus that the Allies had no right to adjust the German-Polish border without the approval of a German government, but one must remember one

[23] Cp. Wiewiora: Polish-German Frontier from the Standpoint of International Law, Warsaw–Poznan 1959, p. 23; Meister: Das Völkerrecht garantiert die Friedensgrenze an Oder und Neisse, Leipzig/Jena 1955, p. 31.

thing.[24] The legal basis for the readjustment of the German-Polish border was the right of the Allies to take forceful measures (sanctions) against the aggressor State Germany with the aim of enforcing the general obligation banning aggression, as provided for in the Paris War Agreement of August 27th, 1928 (Briand-Kellogg Pact)[25] and assuring for all times that German militarism would never again be able to take aggressive action against the Polish people. The Paris Agreement states in paragraph 3 of its preamble, the country which begins a war against the provisions of this pact automatically will reject the advantages of the pact. This presents the legal basis of using military force against an aggressor state or in other words of forcing the aggressor to observe internationally legal conduct in accordance with the principles of this pact. The readjustment of the German eastern borders was such a measure that was necessary to ensure that German militarism would be prevented from beginning a new aggression against the peoples of the east.[26]

It is only natural that all of the measures decided upon in Potsdam could only be reached and realized against the will of the aggressor – German militarism. It would have been ridiculous to have made these measures dependent on the approval of the militarist forces. International law provides for the means of enforcing these measures. Contrary to interior State law, in this case there is no central enforcement agency which can be used to force the application of these measures by the law breaker.[27] Thus the State whose rights were infringed upon is allowed according to international law to execute forceful measures to protect its rights. The States suffering or threatened by the aggression of German militarism had the right, according to international law, to form a system of collective security and enforce the ban on aggression with military force. They also are given the right under international law to enforce measure which serve to apply the ban on aggression without the approval and against the will of the aggressor state. In addition, the decisions of the Potsdam Agreement could not have been approved by a German Government as such a Government did not exist during the first post-war years.

This means that the Potsdam border adjustment did not need the approval of a German Government and is binding according to international law without such an approval. The refusal of the Bonn government to recognize the new German-Polish border may be interesting with respect to the aims of Bonn's policy but it does not change the legal status of the border adjustment.

West German revisionists[28] have attempted

[24] In detail concerning this – but with other arguments – Wiewiora, ib.; Kokot: Logika Poczdamu, Katowice 1959; Klafkowski: Podstawy prawne granicy Odra-Nysa na tle Omów Jaltanskiej i Poszdamskiej, Poznan 1947; Skubiszewski: Umnowa Poczdamska jako jedzna podstawa ukladu territorialnego Miemiec, "Przeglad Zachodni", Poznan, No. 7/8, 1952, p. 514.

[25] In article 1 of this agreement, the parties declared "solemnly in the name of their peoples" that they condemned war as a means of settling international disputes and that they would reject it as a tool of national policy in their relations. See "Materialien zum Kriegsächtungspakt", Berlin 1929.
In the sentence passed in the trial of the major nazi war criminals by the Nuremberg International Military Court, the following interpretation was given of the legality of the pact: "The nations that signed this pact or joined it rejected for the future war as a tool of national policy and clearly pledged not to use it. After the signing of this pact, each nation that used war as a tool of national policy, violated this pact. The court is of the opinion that a solemn rejection of war as a tool of national policy means that war is contrary to international law . . . A war that is used as a tool of national policy to settle international differences is a war of aggression and is thereby contrary to the conditions of this pact." (Steiniger: Der Nürnberger Prozess, Vol. I, Berlin 1957, p. 171.)

[26] The French International Law expert, Pinto is of the opinion: The legal basis for the adjustment of the border between Poland and Germany is based on the unconditional surrender of Germany in 1945. (Cp. Pinto: Problemy prawne Zachodniej Granizy Polski, "Spravy Miedzynarodowe", No. 3/1959, p. 52 et seq.)
The unconditional surrender opened the way for sanctions. These were not, however, the legal basis because the sanctions themselves needed a legal basis. Otherwise one would approach the imperialist and anachronistic right of conquest. Aggressors also have been able to force their opponents to unconditional surrender but it is out of question that this granted any rights and certainly no right to adjust borders.

[27] International law does not make the use of force or sanctions dependent on the approval of the law breaker but applies the measures against his will normally.

[28] Cp. in particular Kraus: Die Oder-Neisse Linie. Eine völkerrechtliche Studie, Cologne 1954, as well as: Deutschlands Ostprobleme. Eine Untersuchung der Beziehungen des deutschen Volkes zu seinen östlichen Nachbarn, published as part of a hate campaign of the "Göttinger Arbeitskreis" under the leadership of Kraus, Würzburg 1957.

to deny the legality of the Oder-Neisse border by alleging that the border is:

1. contrary to international law prohibiting annexation;
2. in contradiction with the right of the German nation to self-determination;
3. not finally fixed in the Potsdam agreement but that the border can only be established in a peace treaty.

To number 1. Professor *Kraus* alleged the forceful division of German territory is contradictory to Article 2, figure 4 of the United Nations Charta, which prohibits annexation, "without differentiation between the aggressor and the attacked."[29] This allegation can be countered most easily with Article 107 of the Charta which provides that none of the provisions of the Charta can be applied to the measures taken by the Allies against the "former enemy states".[30] But apart from this, the allegation is unfounded because the division of the area of the Oder Neisse Rivers is not an annexation.

Lenin underlined that a definition of annexation must include the use of force (the forceful incorporation or the forceful holding of a territory against the will of the population) and secondly the notion of foreign national oppression.[31] Thus force is not the only criterium in order to define annexation. This may also be clearly seen in the definition of the expression annexation contained in the Peace Decree of October 26th, 1917, which states in part:

> *"If any nation is held by force within the borders of a given state, if this nation is held against its declared wishes . . . and is denied the right, after complete withdrawal of troops of the annexing state or the stronger nations, to decide freely on its form of state existence without any form of pressure – then this constitutes an annexation that means a conquered status and rape of its rights."*[32]

The Soviet international law expert, *Barsegow* enlarged upon this thesis in his recently published monography on questions of international law and territory:

> *"Based on the importance of the principle of the right to self-determination one must consider an annexation as not being the forceful incorporation of a territory but also the forceful holding of this or that people within the boundaries of another state."*[33]

And exactly this element of holding and suppressing a foreign people within the borders of a foreign state is not present if we consider the adjustment in eastern German territories. The purpose of dividing former German territory in favour of Poland was not to enslave the population of this area but to ensure the national and state existence of the Polish people. The expulsion of the German population from this area as called for in the Potsdam Agreement precluded any supression of a German minority.[34] This is reason enough to disqualify the division as an annexation.

But for example, if only Article 2, paragraph 4 of the United Nations Charta was used, which prohibits the use of force, to prove an annexation, the result would remain the same. The international law prohibiting the use of force is not absolute. This document also allows the use of force in various forms as a means of applying sanctions against a state that has broken the prohibition of force clause.[35] In accordance with this, the law makes a decided difference between aggressor and the attacked – contrary to the allegation of Professor *Kraus*.

The situation was no different during the period in which the Briand-Kellogg Pact was in force. We have already referred to paragraph 3 of the Preamble. The Stimson Doctrine, which was used by Prof. *Kraus*, also

29 Kraus, ibid. p. 17.

30 Cp. Steiniger, Deutschland und die Vereinten Nationen, ibid.

31 Lenin, Works, Vol. 22, p. 314 (Russian).

32 Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. II, Moscow, 1947, p. 257.

33 Barsegow: The Definition of Territory in International Law, Moscow, 1958, p. 77 (Russian).

34 Part XIII of the Potsdam Agreement. Concerning the re-settlement of the German minority in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

35 Cp. Article 39 of the United Nations Charter.

36 ". . . that it (the US-Government-A. M.) does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligation of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928 . . ." (Bruns: Politische Vorträge, Vol. I, Berlin 1936, p. 325).

gives the same answer. The American Secretary of State interpreted the Briand-Kellogg Pact in notes to Japan and China on January 7th, 1932 as follows: no territorial changes can be recognized which came about by the use of means that are contrary to the provisions of the pact.[36] There were similar interpretations of the pact by the Budapest Conference of the International Law Commission in 1934: No signatory state can accept territorial or other advantages, arising from violation of the pact. [37]

Thus, an adjustment of territory, such as the adjustment of the German-Polish border in 1945 does not constitute an annexation if the peoples' right to self-determination is respected because it was accomplished in accordance with the Briand-Kellogg Pact and under observance of the UN Charta which forbids aggression. In addition this was a measure taken against an aggressor to enforce the non-aggression clause and is therefore not a breach of international law.

To number 2. The German militarists who have never heeded the rights of other peoples to self-determination and who have trampled the German people's right to self-determination under foot are now pretending to be the guardians of the German people's interests and declare that the present German-Polish border infringes on the right of self-determination of the German people. They do not say, however, that it was they themselves and their insane policy of aggression that lost the right of the German people to settle this area.

The adjustment of the German-Polish border is not in contradiction to the Potsdam Agreement,[38] which grants the right of self-determination to the German nation. However, it is understood that a people's right to self-determination is not absolute. It is limited by the rights of other peoples to self-determination.[39] The right of the Polish nation to its state existence has often been ignored and misused by German militarism and now this right must be guaranteed. The right of self-determination of the German people cannot be used as an argument against the basic right of the Polish people, especially as the Allies assured Poland of this right. The establishment of a strong, independent and democratic Poland is in the interests of the German people because a weak Poland was always a target for German militarism. Thus, in the end, this border insures the rights of the Polish and German people to self-determination.

To number 3. Contrary to the allegations of West German revisionists the German-Polish border was finally established in the Potsdam Agreement. All doubts can be removed by a sober analysis of the text of the Potsdam Agreement, the history of its development and its realization. The following must be observed:

a) It may be seen from the character of the border adjustment described above that this measure was not considered by the Allies as a temporary occupation act but as a means of protecting the Polish people from German aggression for all times.

b) All of the documents and declarations made by the Anti-Hitler coalition during World War II show the unanimous approval of this adjustment of Germany's eastern border.[40]

c) In Article IX, figure b of the Potsdam Agreement, the expression "former German territories"[41] is used. Further, these territories "are under Polish administration[42] and are not to be considered a part of the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany." These areas are not a fifth – a Polish occupation zone – in Germany but

37 Part 5 of the Budapest Interpretation to the Briand-Kellogg Pact (Bruns, ibid. p. 260).

38 Preamble to Part III of the Potsdam Agreement.

39 Cp. Baumgarten: Gutachten an das Bundesverfassungsgericht anlässlich der Prozessverhandlungen gegen die KPD, in: Der KPD-Prozess. Documentation, Karlsruhe 1956, Vol. III, p. 504.

40 Cp. Oder-Neisse. Eine Dokumentation des Deutschen Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, Berlin 1955, p. 64.

41 "If words have any meaning at all, then the phrase 'the former German areas' ist clear and final that the . . . areas are no longer German territory after the signing of the Potsdam Agreement." (Grotewohl: Der Kampf um eine einige deutsche demokratische Republik, Vol. II, Berlin 1954, p. 152.)

42 To the expression "administration" cp. Wiewiora ibid. p. 88.

since 1945 an integral part of the Polish Republic.

d) The expulsion of the German population from the areas on the other side of the Oder and Neisse Rivers can not be considered as temporary and were only of value if the borders were to be final and it was sure that this area would not be returned to Germany.[43] The Allies could hardly have expressed the will more clearly that the border adjustment was final.

The German Democratic Republic has, from the day of its foundation, recognized the Oder-Neisse border as final. On October 11th, 1949, Wilhelm Pieck declared upon his election as President of the German Democratic Republic:

> *"We will never permit the Oder-Neisse border to be misused by imperialist interests to inflame the German people to a new war against our Polish neighbours. The Oder-Neisse border is to be a peace border and will never trouble our friendly relations with the Polish people."*[44]

Although the above quoted remark removes all doubt as to the final character of the present German-Polish border, West German revanchists are attempting to use the wording of the Potsdam Agreement to distort the real meaning in that they often quote the phrase, *"the final delimitation of the Polish west border will be delayed until a peace conference is held"*. The Polish expert on international law, *Kokot*, has proven however that in the unofficial German text, the term "final delimitation" was translated as "final adjustment" and that this *"is a conscious distortion of the Potsdam Agreement which was intended to excite the hopes of German revisionists."*[45] *Kokot* presents evidence that this term means the final marking of the border in the country side. The Potsdam Agreement established the general position of the border but was not in a position to measure and establish the demarcation line on the spot[46] whereby they did the next best thing and left this task to the peace conference.

The obstructionist policies of the western powers prevented the convention of a peace conference but the deepening of the friendly relations between the GDR and People's Poland as well as the growing revanchist hate campaign in West Germany made the final marking of the border necessary. Therefore, the Governments oft the GDR and People's Poland resolved to issue the Warsaw Declaration of June 6th, 1950, whereby *"the established peace and friendship border on the Oder and Lausitz Neisse was to be finally marked."*[47] On July 6th, 1950 a mixed German-Polish Commission was founded to realize the agreement on the marking of the border.[48] On January 27th, 1951, the agreement on the marking of the German-Polish State Border was signed.[49]

Thus, the "final delimitation" as called for by the Potsdam Agreement had been accomplished.

From the legal aspect we therefore come to the following conclusions:

1. The adjustment of the German-Polish border at the Potsdam Conference was made in complete concord with the democratic basic principles of international law.
2. The border was established in Potsdam and is valid and legal. The former German areas east of this border are now Polish territory and Germany no longer has any claim to these areas.
3. The failure of the West German Government to recognize this border cannot alter

[43] "Who could conceive the idea that the re-settlement of the Germans was only a temporary experiment? Those who made the decision to re-settle the Germans from these areas in order that Polish people from other parts of Poland could settle these areas cannot propose some time later that contrary measures be carried out. Just the thought of such an experiment is terrible and unjust to millions of people, not only to the Polish but to the German as well." (Molotov: Questions of Foreign Policy, Moscow 1949, p. 259.)

[44] Dokumente zur Außenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Vol. I, Berlin 1954, p. 17. Cp. also ibid. Vol. V, p. 88.

[45] Kokot, ibid. p. 54.

[46] Here is just one example: In Potsdam it was decided that the border should follow the Oder River. But this could mean that the final border could be in the middle of the river, or on the left bank or on the right bank parallel on both sides of the river.

[47] Dokumente zur Außenpolitik der Regierung der DDR, Vol. I, p. 332.

[48] ibid. p. 342.

[49] ibid. p. 355.

... legal status.[51] The Adenauer Government violates the main principle of international law — that of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a foreign state — in that it considers this area part of the German Polish border to be "German East territory".

It is not possible to deal with the entire problem of the German eastern frontier in this article. Therefore we have limited ourselves to some aspects of international law. But it seems necessary to add to what has been said a general thought. *N. S. Khrushchev* said in a speech to the IX. All-German Worker's Conference in Leipzig on March 7th, 1959 that:

"history teaches that conferences do not change State borders. Conferences can only reflect the balance of power that has come to be in its resolutions."[52]

The adjustment of the German eastern border is the result of the changing balance of international power after the victory of the peoples over Hitler-fascism in World War II. This victory gave the peoples the possibility of introducing new measures with which to prevent future German agression. One of these was the border adjustment. The change in the international balance of power in favour of the peoples is also a guarantee that this border will remain, in spite of all West German revanchist demands to revise it. It is irrevocable and not only the Polish people but all of the Socialist countries including the German Democratic Republic are prepared to defend it against any attempt to revise the border. The West German revanchist plans will break on the unity and strength of the Socialist States.

The Third Stage: The Re-establishment of the Great German Reich

The main target of the third stage of the revanchist programme of the Bonn militarists

[51] The recognition of the border as a peace treaty [illegible] of its unjust character. The demand for [illegible] revision, between Poland and Germany on a final settlement is completely unfounded, according to international law because it is only an attempt by the revanchists to cloak their aims with re-[illegible]

[52] "New Times", Moscow, No. 14 1959, p. 43.

in the Republic of Czechoslovakia. Their first aim is the so-called Sudeten area, which was annexed by Hitler Germany in 1938 under cover of the Munich Agreement.[53]

The German Democratic Republic has repeatedly stated that it lays no claim to this area. The Government delegations of the GDR and Socialist Czechoslovakia declared in the Prague Declaration of July 23rd, 1950 that *"our two States have no territorial or border claims."*[54]

In comparison, the West German Government disregards the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia and intends to revise the results of World War II in connection with the Sudeten area. For example, Bonn Minister *Seebohm* called for the annexation of the Sudeten area in a provocative speech held in September 1958 in the immediate vicinity of the Czech border. He threatened that the Federal Government would not rest until *"some day the door to our home country is opened ... and we can again celebrate in the old Reich city of Eger."*[55]

The West German revanchists want to convince the world that their demands are justified under international law as they allege that the "sudeten area" was converted to German territory under legal means. The Federal Chairmen of the BHE, *Seiboth*, made the following statement in this connection:

"The Sudeten area was clearly converted to German territory in 1938 by means of a two-way State Agreement between the German Reich and Czechoslovakia. For this reason the BHE will continue to consider the Sudeten area as German territory under international law."[56]

[53] Die Hintergründe des Münchener Abkommens von 1938. A selection of speeches and contributions to the discussion at the Prague Scientific Conference on the 20th anniversary of the Munich events (25th to 27th of September 1958). Published by Professor Karl Obermann and Professor Josef Polišenský, Berlin 1959; Bauer: Verrat am Weltfrieden, "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 9/1958, p. 877; Sperker: Mitdank: München – eine Warnung für alle Völker, "Deutsche Aussenpolitik"- No. 11/1958, p. 1033.

[54] Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Vol. I, Berlin 1954, p. 377.

[55] Quoted from: Memorandum of the GDR Government on the Threat to Peace by the Armament Policy in West Germany, p. 4.

[56] "Der Tagespiegel", dated 28. 4. 1957.

The annexation of the Sudeten area in 1938 was one of the most criminal deeds of the German imperialists and militarists. This is a well known fact all over the world. In spite of this, the imperialists and militarists who have again established themselves in Bonn are again raising the same demands that they made and temporarily achieved under Hitler. Then as now, they worried little about international law. And when today they base their arguments on so-called provisions of international law, this must be looked upon with mistrust because it is only a cover for their revanchist policies. Theft remains theft and a robber remains a robber.

And now to the remark by Herr *Seiboth*. He is not even correct in a formal sense because such a two-way State Agreement never existed. It is often said that the Munich Agreement joined the Sudeten area to Germany. This thesis, that the Munich Agreement is in accordance with international law and that it is valid today, is nourished by revanchist representatives and West German experts on international law.[56] Herr *Ankenbrank*, the publisher of the "Jahrbuch für Internationales Recht" (International Law Yearbook) devoted space to the following allegation:

> *"In post war agreements no decisions were made concerning the Munich Agreement so that there is no reason to consider it to be invalid – thus there is no reason to doubt the validity of Germany's requisition of the Sudeten area in 1938."*[57]

As though it were necessary for the Four Powers to declare a non-existent agreement for invalid![58]

This document, which was brought about by lies and deception, cold-blooded ultimatums and brutal military pressure could never be considered valid under international law and could never be accepted as a basis for a German claim on Czechoslovak territory. There is hardly an agreement, which so openly is a violation of the basic principles of modern international law and which so clearly shows ists invalidity, as the Munich Agreement.[59] The agreement was in direct contradiction to the sovereign rights of Czechoslovakia. It was drafted and concluded by Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France without the participation of Czechoslowakia. But the Munich plot not only injured Czechoslovakia's territorial integrity and political independence because a large part of its territory was taken by force. The surrender of the border fortifications to the fascist aggressors left Czechoslovakia practically at the mercy of Hitler Germany. Hitler used this situation some six months later as he over-ran the remainder of Czechoslovakia. The Munich Agreement was illegal even under the ineffective directives of the League of Nations.[60] The annexa-

[56] Cp. for example Laun: Das Recht auf Heimat, Hannover-Darmstadt 1951; Raschhofer: Die Sudetenfrage. Ihre völkerrechtliche Entwicklung vom ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart, Munich 1953; Schieche: Das Recht in der Sudetenfrage, "Aussenpolitik", Stuttgart 1954, p. 648.

[57] Ankenbrank: Ist die Eingliederung des Sudetenlandes in das Deutsche Reich im Herbst 1938 rechtswirksam geworden? "Jahrbuch für Internationales Recht", Vol. III (1954), p. 129.

[58] In addition, the Allies recognized the absolute possession of the territory by Socialist Czechoslovakia in their decision to re-settle the German minority from Czechoslovakia (Potsdam Agreement, Part XIII).

[59] Already during World War II, two of the signatory powers proclaimed the Munich Agreement as null and void. On September 29th, 1942, General de Gaulle, Chairman of the French National Council declared: "this agreement to be void from the beginning as well as all acts that have taken place during the realization or as a result of this agreement." Similarly the Italian Government declared on September 26th, 1944, that it considered the Munich agreement and the so-called Vienna Arbitration of Ribbentrop and Ciano on November 2nd, 1938, as void as well as all acts that resulted from this agreement and that further all decisions made, which impaired the independence and territorial integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic, to be illegal. In comparison, the British Government declared in a note on August 5th, 1942, signed by Foreign Minister Eden that the Munich Agreement was no longer binding because Germany had broken her obligations under the agreement. In this way the British Government escaped an open declaration as to the invalidity of the agreement (text of the above mentioned declaration contained in Langer, "Seizure of Territory". The Stimson Doctrine and Related Principles in Legal Theory and Diplomatic Practice, New York 1947, p. 237).

[60] In accordance with article 20 of the League of Nations Covenant all agreements between member states, which were not in accordance with the League Covenant, were null and void. The Munich Agreement was contrary to article 10 of the Covenant which guaranteed the respect for territorial integrity and political sovereignty. More on article 20 of the League of Nations Covenant cp. Schurschalov, Principles of the Validity of International Agreements, Moscow 1957, p. 158 (Russian).

tion of the Sudeten area was in direct contradiction to international law and an act of aggression.[61]

A certain *Gerhard Frey* tried to distort the facts about this agreement in the Adenauer financed „Soldatenzeitung" (Soldiers Newspaper), (Nr. 7/1959) by charging that the Munich Agreement was only the realization and carrying-out of a "treaty" signed between Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and France on September 21st, 1938. This document stipulated that the Sudeten area should be joined with Germany (*Frey* stated that Germany had nothing to do with the agreement). Such lies and distortions are intended to get the allegiance of West German youth for the struggle to get a „right to the homeland of our forefathers" (which is a continuation of the *Henlein* slogan "home to the Reich"). They are to believe that it was not Germany who annexed a part of the Czechoslovak Republic but that Germany only carried out the provisions of an agreement signed by other states.

Without attempting to take away the guilt of the former Czech, British and French ruling circles for their treacherous policy toward the Czech people, it must be said that it was the fascist Reich's Government that used brutal methods of pressure on the Western Powers to get their backing for an annexation of the Sudeten area.[62] The British Chamberlain Government backed down in face of this pressure and issued a series of ultimatums to Czechoslovakia which forced this government to capitulate. If the Czech Government refused, Britain would not guarantee protection for the remainder of her territory.

> *„But if the Czechs join with the Russians, then a war could become a crusade against Bolshevism. The British and French Governments could hardly avoid taking part."*[63]

The bourgeois Czech Government capitulated under the pressure of the imperialist great powers Germany, Great Britain and France. They betrayed the Czech people.

The Czech international law expert, *Jaroslav Zourek* is absolutely correct when he concludes that:

> *"The acceptance of the British-French proposals of September 21st, 1938 and the Munich Agreement on September 30th, 1938 by the Czech Government was from the very beginning contrary to international law and invalid because the acceptance was obtained with armed force and the repeated threat of an armed attack from Hitler Germany as well as pressure applied by the former governments of Britain and France."*[64]

Thus the Munich Agreement cannot be used to justify any German claim to the Sudeten area. According to international law, the Munich Agreement and the annexation of this territory in 1938 did not convert the territory into Germany's possession. It remains an integral part of Socialist Czechoslovakia, which after the defeat of fascism was again able to establish control of the area without needing the approval or a decision of the Four Powers.[65] This situation was simply the clarification of an unjust act.

Article 10 of the Soviet draft peace treaty for Germany does not attempt to establish a new legal situation but rather only confirms the present legal status as follows:

> *"Germany recognizes the invalidity of the Munich Agreement and all of the consequences thereof and declares that the territory of the former so-called Sudeten area will always be considered as a part of the state territory of the Czechoslovak Republic."*[66]

61 Cp. in detail: Zourek, The Munich Agreement and International Law, in: Die Hintergründe des Münchener Abkommens von 1938 p. 131.

62 Cp. the detailed declaration in "Geschichte der Diplomatie" Vol. III, Part 2, Berlin 1948, p. 291.

63 ibid. p. 293

64 Zourek ibid. p. 139.

65 In addition, in the "Declaration on a Liberated Europe" which was decided upon at the Crimean Conference on February 11th, 1945, it was stated: "The principle of the Atlantic Charter that all peoples have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live means that those peoples who were robbed of their sovereign rights and self-administration by aggression, must have these rights returned to them." (Bittel: Das Potsdamer Abkommen und andere Dokumente, Berlin 1957, revised edition, p. 47.)

66 Für einen Friedensvertrag mit Deutschland, "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Special edition I/1959, p. 5.

But the political importance of such a confirmation of invalidity in a German peace treaty should not be underestimated. This would prevent the revanchists from nourishing the ignorance of the true legal status that is prevalent in the minds of a surprising number of expellees from this area in West Germany today. The former Chairman and present Honorary President of the "Sudeten Expellee Association", *Ritter Lodgmann von Auen* speculated with this ignorance as he made the insolent demand in an article in the Stuttgart magazine "Außenpolitik" in December 1953:

"In 1945, the Czech State ... annexed German territory and occupied it ... A free, all-German Government must therefore demand indemnity from the Czech State and also the right to negotiation ... the re-adjustment of the border question."

There is no basis for negotiations on the legal and final German-Czech border. The revanchist forces in West Germany should not believe that they can force a second Munich Agreement on the present Czech Government. The inviolability of this border is guaranteed by the Czech Government and all of the Socialist States as well as all peace-loving peoples.

Greater Germany through European Integration

The Bonn revanchists programme for the re-establishment of the Greater German Reich was proclaimed under the slogan of "European Integration". Minister *Oberländer*, who was finally exposed as a war criminal by the leading GDR daily, "Neues Deutschland" on October 23rd, 1959, demanded in a speech on the Bavarian Radio in November, 1953 that the eastern Bavarian border areas should be strengthened *"for a solution of the Sudeten question in accordance with the Munich Agreement and for an all-German solution"*.[67] At the 1957 "Sudeten German Day", Federal Minister *Seebohm* declared that Bonn could not agree to the borders of 1937 *"in the interests of a united Europe"*.

"Whoever demands only the 1937 borders rejects for Europe and its culture the deciding important cooperation and coexistence of the German and West-Slav peoples."[68]

In reality, the spokesmen of the West German monopolies are not interested in culture, cooperation or coexistence but, as 20 years ago, they strive only to enslave the Czech people, conquer and exploit the land and gain the rich soil and mineral wealth.

West German militarism's Pan-European Plans extend not only to the Ural Mountains.[69] They are also aimed at West European capitalist countries. In May, 1951, the former "Minister for All German Questions", *Jakob Kaiser* in a speech in Saarbrücken said:

„A true Europe can only be established if Germany is reunited. I wish to remind you that this includes, apart from Germany and Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar and Alsace-Lorraine."[70]

One could hardly speak more clearly. German militarism is not only the enemy of the German people but it also threatens other peoples. The control of German militarism is an international task of first rate importance and the German people bear the responsibility for accomplishing this.

The Incorporation of the Saar

These plans of the German militarists have been realized in the programme concerning the Saar Region. This must be food for thought

67 "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung", No. 213/1953. Five years later he declared: "We Germans believe in Europe, we are also ready to make great sacrifices for Europe, but we know that there can be no Europe without a healthy centre, without a firm core and this core is Germany." (ibid. No. 119/1958.)

68 Quoted from "Wir warnen!", Prague 1959 p. 50. This demand was repeated by West German Member of Parliament Zoglmann in the foreign policy debate in the West German Parliament on November 5th 1959. The re-establisment of the 1937 frontiers is not enough. The Versailles borders must also be revised.

69 This was stated by Professor Hallstein, a State Secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office at a press conference held at the Washington Georgetown University: "I consider the final aim of a united Europe to be the integration of all parts of the continent up to the Ural mountains. European unity can be accomplished by stages" ("Rheinische Post", Düsseldorf, dated 14. 3. 1952).

70 Cp. "Neue Zürcher Zeitung", dated 26. 1. 1952. This speech caused violent objections in the Swiss Parliament.

as Hitler also began his revanchist plans with the incorporation of the Saar region.

The Saar Region[71] was established by the Versailles Treaty of 1919 and placed under the control of the League of Nations (1920-1935). On the basis of a referendum held in 1935, which was dominated by Hitler's chauvinistic hate campaign, the Saar Region was brought under the control of the fascist German Reich.

The Potsdam Agreement confirmed the possession of the Saar area for Germany. French imperialists however, attempted to get the Great Powers to transfer the Saar Region to France. This plan failed because of consistent Soviet resistance at the Moscow Conference. Regardless of this, French imperialists organized a committee immediately after the Conference to draft a constitution for the Saar Region, which was presented to the "Constitutional Assembly" on November 8th, 1947. It proclaimed the "political independence" of the Saar Region from Germany with the support of Great Britain and the United States. The Saar Region was tied economically to France.

On March 3rd, 1950, the so-called Saar Convention was concluded between the Saar Region and France, whereby France completed the annexation of the Saar. This convention provided among other things that the rich Saar mines were to be leased to France for a period of 50 years. The GDR Government protested on the same day in the following declaration[72] against this

> *"act of force ... the German people will not and never recognize the division of the Saar Region from Germany and its annexation by French imperialists."*

At the same time, the declaration condemned the *Adenauer* proposal for the establishment of a so-called German-French Union and the signing of a unilateral peace treaty with which the West German Government hoped to hide its approval of the annexation of the Saar Region. From the entire development of the position of the Adenauer Government in the Saar question, it can be assumed that they backed French interests in return for French approval of West German re-armament so that after the completion of the re-armament they can demand the return of the Saar to Germany.

On October 23rd, 1954, Adenauer again attempted to bargain off the Saar Region. In an agreement on the so-called Saar Statute[73] which was concluded within the frame-work of the Paris Agreements, he wanted to trade the Saar Region for French approval of the establishment of the West German NATO forces. The Saar was to be given a legal position within the Western European Union and also a "political kommissar", which would be appointed by the Minister's Council of the West European Union. This proposal was hurriedly drafted as a West German law.[74] However, the German and French imperialists had to make the Saar Statute dependent on a referendum, which they thought they were sure to win. *Adenauer* called on the Saarlanders to vote for the so-called European Statute. In the referendum, held on October 23rd, 1953, the population rejected this statute with more than 67 per cent of the voters casting negative ballots.

Contrary to the feelings of the Saar population against the Paris Agreements, which could be seen plainly in the results of the referendum, the third bargain on the Saar Region was carried on by *Adenauer* and the French imperialists without consulting the population. The Saar Region was incorporated in the militarist NATO Republic.[75] This was meant to strengthen the Bonn-Paris axis. This was not a return of the territory to Germany because there are *two* German States. But the Saar is incorporated into the German NATO State, the Federal Republic.

The Presidium of the GDR's Minister's Council issued the following declaration on October 8th, 1956:

71 Cp. Moltschanov: The Saar Question 1945–1956, Moscow 1958 (Russian); Dischler: Das Saarland 1945–1956, 2 parts, Research Institute for International Law and Foreign Public Law, Hamburg 1956.

72 Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der DDR, Vol. I, p. 43.

73 Text see Brandweiner: Die Pariser Verträge, Berlin 1955, p. 321.

74 Federal Public Law II/1955, p. 295.

75 Saar Agreement between West Germany and France dated 29. 9. 1956 (Federal Public Law II, No. 36) and the law on the integration of the Saar Region dated 23. 1. 1956 (Federal Public Law I, p. 1011).

"The fate of the Saar Region, which is a part of Germany, is and remains an All-German affair. The Government of the German Democratic Republic can therefore not recognize the agreement worked out between the Governments of France and the Federal Republic. A solution to the Saar question can only be reached in negotiations between the Governments of France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic and the Saar Region because today two German states exist."[76]

In addition the GDR Government called for a temporary solution of the Saar question until the reunification of Germany and proposed that the Saar Region remain free of military blocks, that West German and foreign troops be banned from the region and that a ban be placed on the storage of nuclear weapons in the Saar. The incorporation of the Saar Region into West Germany was an illegal act. A solution of the Saar problem is only possible through the signing of a peace treaty and the incorporation of the Saar Region into a democratic, peaceful, united National State.[77]

Preparations for a new Annexation of Austria

Out of the quotation from *Jakob Kaiser* it can be seen that German militarism has not given up the idea of repeating the attempt to incorporate Austria. History shows that German militarism is an arch-enemy of Austrian independence. Each increase in power of German militarism adds to the danger of a new incorporation. It must be underlined that German imperialism has prepared gradually for annexation in many fields and with different means and methods – such as under-mining and eliminating the economic independence of Austria – ever since the period of the First Austrian Republic.[78]

Today, West German imperialists have again increased their efforts in the economic field in order to penetrate the Austrian national economy. "A Study Group to Promote Austrian Economic Development" saw fit to publish an eye-opening study of the Bonn policy aimed at a "cold incorporation".[79] At the same time, the political incorporation of Austria into the Bonn State has been prepared although this has taken on a covert form since the signing of the Austrian State Treaty. Early in 1954, the Italian newspaper, "Avanti" published a report from Bonn that a memorandum on the Austrian question had been drawn up on the initiative of leaders of West German heavy industry. This document underlined the necessity of incorporating Austria into "Germany".[80] This incorporation should be carried out by a gradual nearing of the two countries in "economic, political and military fields". Of particular importance is the support of the Pan-German elements in Austria. *"Fortresses are taken most easily from within."*[81] For this reason mutual German-Austrian soldiers meetings are held and meetings of the various expellee organizations are convened.[82]

The conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty on May 15th, 1955, was a heavy blow against the West German policy of incorporation. This was the realization of the Moscow Declaration

[76] Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der DDR, Vol. V, p. 42.

[77] The following is stated in an opinion expressed by the Foreign Policy Committee of the GDR Parliament on 9. 2. 1959 concerning the Soviet Draft Peace Treaty for Germany: "At the same time, the draft peace treaty confirms the Saar Region as German territory in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement. This means that the Saar Region will no longer be a matter of dispute between Germany and France." ("Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Special edition I/1959, p. 23).

[78] Cp. ibid. and the explanation by Tillmann ibid. p. 47.

[79] Der kalte Anschluss. A study of the growing West German influence in Austrian economy. Published by a study group to promote Austrian Economic Development, No. 2, July 1959. In addition cp. the article by von Gellert in "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 12/1959, p. 1294.

[80] Already in the first session of the West German Parliament, many members of parliament declared that "Austria is German territory and must be admitted to the Federation".

[81] Cp. A. Jefremov: The Soviet – Austrian Relations after World War II, Moscow 1958, p. 138 (Russian). Brandweiner called attention to this plan developed by Adenauer during the time of the Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference (Der österreichische Staatsvertrag. Die Vorgeschichte und der Wortlaut des Vertrages, Leipzig/Jena 1955, p. 26).

[82] For more on the so-called Sudeten German Meeting at Whitsun 1959 in Vienna cp. the publication of the Prague Institution for International Economy and Politics: What they want in Vienna, Prague 1959.

of October 30th, 1943.[83] The State Treaty rectified the injustice done in 1938 and re-established the old Austro-German border. This was a symbol of the victory of the people over German militarism and guarantees the rewon Austrian independence. Article 4 prohibits a political or economic union of Austria and Germany. It is also worth mentioning that any policy which promotes or advocates incorporation is also forbidden:

> *"In order to prevent such a union, Austria will not make any agreement with Germany, enter and act, or take any measures which are designed to promote a direct or indirect political or economic union with Germany or which would effect its territory or which would endanger its political or economic independence. Austria also pledges to prohibit within its territory any act that would be suitable to promote a direct or indirect incorporation, to prohibit the rebirth and growth of any organization that propagates incorporation and to prevent any "Greater Germany" propaganda aimed at achieving incorporation."*[84]

Although the Federal Republic is not a signatory power to the Austrian State Treaty, West Germany is obliged to respect the sovereignty and permanent neutrality of Austria and is further obliged to desist from all acts which could serve a new incorporation. This obligation is also a bar for the plan of the West German Government to eventually get control of Austria by means of European integration.[85]

According to Article 13 of the Soviet Draft Peace Treaty for Germany, Germany, must recognize the Austrian State Treaty of May 15th, 1955, and the ban on incorporation contained in this treaty and Germany must respect the sovereignty and neutrality of Austria.[86] Any political or economic incorporation between Germany and Austria is prohibited as well as acts *"direct or indirect"* which would promote a union.

Bonn Demands Revision of Germany's Western Borders

An expression of the Bonn Government's revanchist policy is the demand to cancel the changes made in Germany's western borders on April 23rd, 1949.[87]

Indeed the legal aspects of this situation are much more complicated because of the illegal actions of the Western Powers.[88] The illegal border changes that have been made until now can only become legitimate by agreeing on this

[83] In the Moscow Declaration, the Governments of the USSR, Great Britain and the United States declared: "They consider the German annexation of Austria on March 15th, 1938 (an error – the annexation occurred on March 13th – H. Brandweiner) as null and void . . . they declared that they wish to see the re-establishment of a free and independent Austria." (Brandweiner ibid. p. 7.)

[84] Article 4, paragraph 2, Brandweiner ibid. p. 47. There is no doubt that the Austrian Government has grossly ignored this measure as they allowed and promoted the Greater Germany propaganda during the "Sudeten German Meeting" in Vienna at Whitsun 1959. Cp. the note sent by the Czechoslovak Government to the Austrian Government on May 20th, 1959. "Aufbau und Frieden", Prague dated 23. 5. 1959.

[85] Adenauer threatened in May 1953: Either we two . . . Austria and Germany – enter the protective arm of Europe or your country and our country are faced with a difficult future." ("Der Kurier" dated 20. 5. 1959.)

[86] In article 3 of the Austrian State Agreement, the Allies pledged to include such a stipulation in a German peace treaty. This article is incidentally a confirmation of Germany's right to a peace treaty.

[87] Cp. Menzel: Die deutsche Westgrenze nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg. "Europa-Archiv" 1949, p. 2499.

[88] On March 26th, 1949, the Foreign Ministers of the countries belonging to the "Western European Union" published a communiqué on the "temporary corrections of West German borders as based on the "London Proposals" of June 7th, 1948. These border adjustments were carried out by April 23rd, 1949. The changes in question were as follows:
The Netherlands received the border area near Dinxperlo, Elten near Emmerich as well as parts of the villages Hütheim (Rees County), Wylen (Kleve County) and the so-called "Selfkant" area (seven villages and a further border area in the county of Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg).
Belgium received territory near Aachen (including the village of Münsterbilden, a part of the rail line Aachen – Herbesthal, Freyen Forest) as well as some territory in Schleiden county.
Luxemburg was ceded the so-called Kammerwald in Bitburg county.
France was given a small portion of land in the Forest of Mundat, north of Weissenburg.
The Western Powers were not allowed to decide upon and carry out these border adjustments. In accordance to the "Declaration on the Capitulation of Germany" dated June 5th, 1945 (text from Bittel, ibid. p. 56) only the Four Powers could legally adjust the borders of Germany or of a part of Germany. On the basis of this, the Soviet Government declared in a note to the Governments of the Western Powers on April 5th, 1949 that: "she considered the border adjustments as undertaken by the Governments of the US, Britain and France, in violation of the 'Declaration on the Capitulation of Germany' to be illegal". (Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik der Sowjetunion, Vol. I, Berlin 1957, p. 209.

with both German States and the Soviet Union in a peace treaty. According to Article 12 of the Soviet draft German peace treaty, Germany must recognize and confirm "*the changes and the laying down of the present borders which has been accomplished by treaties with neighbouring states in the period from May, 1945 until January 1st, 1950.*"[89] Contrary to other articles in the draft peace treaty, this article would have the effect of creating right.

On August 21st, 1959, the Bonn Government repeated its demand on Holland to return the border land given to Holland in 1949. Similar demands have been made to Belgium and to Luxemburg and this demand has gone so far that an "agreement for the adjustment of unsettled questions of the war and post-war period"[90] was signed on July 11th, 1959. The Bonn Government makes the payment of "compensation" dependent upon the fulfilment of these demands. These are bad bargains and it is about time that the conclusion of a peace treaty put an end to these dealings. The armament of West Germany, membership in NATO and in the Common Market have strengthened the imperialist contradictions that are becoming stronger day by day. Bonn attempts at present to adapt itself to the power political events and declares that they are ready to make certain concessions. But this is done only when there is a back door from which to escape in the event of a concession. Now however, the Bonn Government feels strong enough to make such insolent demands.

No legal solution can be found in this question without the approval of the GDR because they alone represent the interests of the German people.

The "Right to the Home" – A New Version of the Nazi Slogan, "Home to the Reich"

The Bonn militarists have oriented themselves in the preparations for their revanchist actions on the former re-settlers because the capitalists and land-lords hope to enlist their help in regaining the lost territories from which they have extracted so much profit. The West German law makers have placed themselves at the disposal of the revanchists. Instead of the expression "re-settler" the word "Vertriebene" or "Heimatvertriebene" is used (means driven out or forced to leave their homes illegally) in order to prevent these people from finding a home in West Germany. This feeling of homelessness is nourished and this can clearly be seen in § " of a Special Statute passed in 1953 by the Bonn Government.

"Children born after the moment being [illegible] from their homes assume the status of their parents."[91]

More so-called "Landsmannschaften" (re-settler associations) have been established in West Germany to "foster" the "true will for our home"[92] and the activity of these organizations renders all help of social fate.[93] The tasks of these organizations were characterized by the "Stand Secretary for All-German Questions" Lemmer:

[91] Federal Public Law I, dated 22. 5. 1953. State Secretary Nahm in the Bonn "Ergellee" Ministry commented on this statute with the words: "The right of every German expellee to his home country and his property is automatically transferred to his children even in such cases where the children have been born in the Federal Republic and thereby never have seen the home of their family." ("Ost-[illegible]" dated 30. 4. 1955.

[92] Quoted from the Deputy Chairman of the "Landsmannschaft Schlesien" Rumbaur, in "Schlesische Rundschau" (according to an ADN report dated 26. 6. 1959).

[93] [illegible] there are countless [illegible] the more than 80 so-called organizations of the Federal Republic have established so-called "cultural groups of spontaneous [illegible] known as the "Landsmannschaft Schlesien" [illegible] "Homeland Evening" [illegible] "Christmas Celebration" [illegible] "Dancing" [illegible] "Wanderungen" [illegible] "Hikes" [illegible] "Sports" [illegible] "Youth Groups" [illegible] "Choir" [illegible] "Orchestra" [illegible] "Theatre" [illegible] "Library" [illegible] "Museum" [illegible] "Archive" [illegible] "Publishing House" [illegible] "Newspaper" [illegible] "Radio" [illegible] "Television" [illegible] "Film" [illegible] "Photography" [illegible] "Art" [illegible] "Music" [illegible] "Literature" [illegible] "Science" [illegible] "Education" [illegible] "Training" [illegible] "Work" [illegible] "Leisure" [illegible] "Sport" [illegible] "Health" [illegible] "Welfare" [illegible] "Social" [illegible] "Economic" [illegible] "Political" [illegible] "Religious" [illegible] "Cultural" [illegible] "Educational

"It would be entirely false to see these organizations as just associations to remember old friends or to keep alive old traditions or as to evaluate them as a substitute for the homes of these Germans from the east. The main task of these organizations is to work with all groups and branches of our people to regain the eastern German territories."[94]

An attempt is being made to use the resettlers as a main instrument of the revanchist policy. They are told that they were the *"innocent victims of an unjust expulsion"*. German militarism represents their interests if it helps them to successfully gain their "right to their homes". Even leading Social Democrat leaders support these tendencies and thereby help the deadly enemy of the German people – German militarism – to recruit cannon fodder. For example, *Richard Reitzner*, Social Democrat Member of the West German Parliament declared:

"It is fact that the Sudeten Germans were driven out: they have been deprived of their homes without regard to international law."[95]

They consider the representation of their "right to their homes" to be the most important and progressive of their legal policies at present.

International law has no "right to their homes" in the same sense as used by the West German militarists. The right of a people to have their homes has never been recognized by German militarists. They have systematically attempted to eliminate various peoples of Europe and have declared their homes to be "German property". Let there be no doubt about it, some peoples in Europe would no longer exist if the militarists were given a free hand.

When the militarists today speak about rights to a home, that is basically the same as the Hitler programme and ideology which called for "minority rights" – that is the right of a minority to form their own government and separate state organization within Poland and Socialist Czechoslovakia. This allowed Hitler to then return these "German areas" to the Reich, or rather to annex these regions. This is what the Chairman of the BHE, *Seiboth* meant when he said:

"What good is the right to our homes if we do not have the free, political decision of the fate of our home land."[96]

Exactly this development was to have been prevented by moving the German minority from these regions to the occupied zones of Germany in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, paragraph XIII and the directive of the Allies of the Anti-Hitler-Coalition to carry out this project. This move was in accordance with the will of the people. This re-settlement was to remove hot-beds of international conflict and the presence of German minority groups in eastern Europe were nothing else and in addition they were used by German militarism to prepare and propagate war. The German minorities played the part of the "Fifth Column"[97] of German imperialism. This can be seen in the history of the Sudeten German Movement[98] and the history of the German minority in Poland.[99]

The re-settlement of millions of Germans was a painful operation that was necessary to

[94] "Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung" dated 23. 9. 1952.

[95] Readers letter to the Social Democratic "Vorwärts" (Bonn) on 9. 10. 1959.

[96] "Unser Recht auf Heimkehr", Frankfurt/Main 1956, p. 80.

[97] Text of this Agreement in: Polen, Deutschland und die Oder-Neisse-Grenze. Published by Deutsches Institut für Zeitgeschichte in cooperation with the German-Polish Historian Commission under the editorship of Rudi Goguel. Berlin 1959, p. 402.

[98] Cp. Claude: National Minorities. An International Problem, Cambridge Mass. 1955; Wiskemann: Germany's Eastern Neighbours. Problems relating to the Oder-Neisse Line and the Czech Frontier Regions, London-New York-Toronto 1956, as well as Snejdarek: The Part of the Sudeten German Nazis in "Munich", and Fuchs: On the Betrayal of the right wing leaders of the Social Democrats in the Sudeten area against the interests of the German and Czech workers in 1938, contained in: Die Hintergründe des Münchener Abkommens, ibid. p. 103 and 201.

[99] Cp. L. de Jong: The German Fifth Column in the Second World War, London 1956; Staniewicz: The German Fifth Column in Poland in the Second World War; "September 1939" published by Professor Basil Spiru. Berlin 1959, p. 41 and the literature listed in footnote 98.

secure peace in Central Europe.[100] The necessity of this re-settlement as a sanction against the land-hungry German imperialism and militarism, in order to preserve peace in Europe, can be seen in the part played today by the so-called "re-settler associations" in West Germany. German militarism no longer has an outpost of Germans in eastern European countries which can help prepare revanchist actions.

Just as the adjustment of the German-Polish border in Potsdam re-settlement of the German minorities served the securing of the right to self-determination for the peoples of Europe who had been denied this right by German militarism because of the German minorities. If one evaluates the re-settlement objectively according to results, it must be said that this strengthened and secured the neighbouring People's Democracies and increased their resistance to any new danger of aggression that might come from German imperialism. For this reason, this move which was certainly painful helped the German people too in gaining their right to self-determination, which can only happen in peace. The "right to your home" as propagated in Bonn is contrary to the right of the nation to self-determination. It is nothing less than the ideological conception of revanchism. It is pseudo-judicial war propaganda.

The Signing of a Peace Treaty would Control Revanchism

The main task of a peace treaty with Germany is to bring German militarism under control. It must be assured for all times that German militarism will never again prepare and carry out a new aggression against the peoples of Europe. The German people must be given the possibility of taking control of their fate in all of Germany so that militarism and imperialism can be destroyed by the roots.

The territorial conditions laid down in the Soviet Draft Peace Treaty for Germany also would serve to control German militarism. Article 8, paragraph 1 states:

"The German borders are to remain as they were on January 1st, 1959."

The importance of this proposal is that along with other parts of the draft treaty it could secure peace in Central Europe – even in all of Europe and would insure that the right of self-determination is guaranteed to all nations that participated in the war. This would be the realization of the aim of all peoples in the Anti-Hitler coalition.

It has been proved in this article that the regenerated German militarism in West Germany is doing everything in its power to prevent the final conclusion of World War II and the erection of barriers to prevent a new war. Its revanchist policy that is topped by the demand to revise Germany's post-war boundaries is a serious threat to peace.

Although Article 8 of the Soviet draft peace treaty only confirms legally the existence of Germany's borders with the possible exception of a small portion of the western border, this item should not be underestimated in political importance. This would end once and for all the territorial claims of West German militarists and at the same time would guarantee the inviolability of German territory and would allow full German sovereignty to the German people to live in peace and democracy. This would also assure that Germany would live in peace with its neighbours.[101]

[100] The West German expert on international law, Laun, tries to distort these sanctions against Germany into "collective punishment to a great extreme" (Laun: Grenzen von 1959 oder Demokratie? "Internationales Recht und Diplomatie", No. I/1959, p. 12). This is intended to cover up the main reason for the re-settlement. Without a doubt the main responsibility rests on German minorities because they assisted in the fascist-German aggression. But the objective was not to punish them collectively but to prevent German militarism from again using them as a fifth column. If they must suffer for the crimes of German militarism, just as the remainder of the nation, then the logical conclusion for the re-settlers is to join the ranks of the German anti-fascists.

[101] Cp. Arzinger: Warum Friedensvertrag? Grundlagen, Prinzipien und Bedeutung des Sowjetischen Friedensvertrages mit Deutschland. Berlin 1959, p. 39.

Thus the territorial conditions laid down in a peace treaty would also help to solve the main problem in Germany – the elimination of rule by German imperialism and militarism. This aim is strengthened by the other articles of the draft treaty, in particular Articles 17 and 20. These oblige Germany:

> *"to prohibit by law revanchist parties and organizations which propagate the revision of Germany's borders or which make territorial claims on other states."*

In addition:

> *"all revanchist demands for a revision of Germany's borders or territorial claims on other countries are prohibited."*

Naturally, the politicians in Bonn have a special hate for these two articles. These articles are considered to be undemocratic,[102] and in the event that they are included in a final peace treaty, *"the end of political freedom in the Federal Republic is in sight."*[103]

This certainly would mean an end to the "freedom" of *Grewe, Laun* and their likes to prepare the revanchist actions of German militarism ideologically. The "re-settler organizations" and other militarist and revanchist West German organizations and associations would be eliminated. On the other hand this would give the democratic forces in the German people the chance to develop. These proposals take into consideration the lessons of German history which teach that militarism in all forms must be destroyed if the right of self-determination is to be guaranteed for all peoples in Europe including the German people. To preserve peace, militarism must be controlled. The prohibition of revanchist organizations is no restriction of the rights of the German people. On the contrary, it is the guarantee of international law that the German people can enjoy the right of self-determination to the fullest extent.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 11, 1959 and No. 1, 1960)

102 Laun, ibid. p. 12.

103 Grewe: Ein Friedensvertrag mit Deutschland? "Europa-Archiv", No. 9/10, 1959, p. 318. Also cp. Martin: Die Haltung Bonns zu einem Friedensvertrag mit Deutschland. "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", No. 8/1959, p. 862.

CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES

Barbarity — the Extremest Form of Monopoly Rule in Germany

This was the topic of an international scientific conference organised by the historical institute of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin on June 19th and 20th, 1961, in connection with the trial that was conducted in Jerusalem against the million-fold Jew murderer *Eichmann.*

The aim of the conference was to establish detailed proof in connection with the Eichmann trial of the barbaric character of German imperialism and to expose the criminal role of the German monopolies.

The conference was attented by some 280 specialists of the various branches of social sciences from the GDR, especially by historians, philosophers and economists and by guests from the USSR, CSSR, the People's Republic of Poland and Hungaria and from Italy.

The political significance of this conference was stressed by the presence of Professor *Kurt Hager,* candidate of the Political Comittee of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of representatives from other political parties, the Government and social organisations.

In his opening speech Professor *Hartke,* President of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, pointed out that we could not content ourselves with inquiring only into the motives and causes of the crimes committed by the individual *Eichmann,* but that it was necessary to examine the political and social roots of the mass murder committed by a fascist German Government. To do this, research work was the task, in particular, of the social scientists. Similar ideas were expressed by Professor *Ernst Engelberg,* Director of the historical institute of the German Academy of Sciences, who opened the conference. It may be stated that the conference fulfilled the political-moral tasks it had set itself. The conference was a joint manifestation on the part of the social scientists against the barbaric system of monopoly rule in Germany.

Professor *Jürgen Kuczynski's* speech which contained convincing documentary evidence provided the basis for the following scientific discussion. He arrived at the conclusion that *Eichmann* was nothing but a manager – not of a particular industrial group, but of German monopoly capital in general and especially of its most influential trust in the period of fascist rule: the IG-Farben Corporation. The speaker pointed out that *Eichmann's* councils for the defence were making every effort to prevent an extension of the charges to those he represented.

In a comprehensive summary, Professor Kuczynski outlined development and role of the two most powerful monopoly groups in Germany: Coal-Iron-Steel and the Electro-Chemical Concern, from the turn of the century to the present. He also raised a number of questions – i. e. which monopoly groups were domineering at various periods? What was their specific policy?

The speaker also dealt in detail with the role of antisemitism. Professor *Kuczynski* proved that the ruling imperialist forces usually sponsored and stirred up antisemitism at such periods when they deemed it particularly necessary to conceal their methods of exploitation and criminal aims and to divert the attention of the masses.

In the following discussion 18 speakers, including five foreign guests, made contributions to the discussion. Most of the speakers dealt with the criminal role of the German monopolies, especially during the period of fascist dictatorship. Other topics mentioned

were the atomic war plans of the Bonn Extremists, the barbaric warfare practised by German imperialists, questions of political catholicism etc.

Some of the contributions deserve to be mentioned in particular: The role of antisemitism in the period of fascism and present-day antisemitism in the Bonn state was exposed by *Henry Görschler,* from the Social Science Institute of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He quoted documents proving that the number of antisemitic excesses in present-day West Germany are no less than during the years of the Weimar Republic.

Exploitation and extermination of human beings by means of employing slave labour in the monopoly factories during World War II was characterized by Dr. *Eva Seeber,* Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig, as a essential feature of the barbaric rule of German imperialism. By quoting documents, including some from the Nuremberg trials against IG-Farben, the Krupp und Flick companies, the speaker proved that the leading monopolies, now again controlling the Bonn state, were the actual initiators and main profiteers from the exploitation and extermination of millions of foreign slave labourers and concentration camp inmates.

Special attention was paid to a contribution by Professor *Fokien, Moscow,* on Hitler's plan for the annihilation of all Soviet peoples. He proved that the extermination of the Russian people was one of the main aims of the German imperialists to enable them to put their plans for the domination of Europe into practice without interference. Professor *Fokien* quoted documents containing the German imperialists's programme of action – the so-called East-Plan. It was intended to remove three quarters of the White-Russian population from their native country and to exploit the rest as slave labourers for the benefit of German landowners and capitalists. The same fate was to be assigned to the Ukrainians.

A number of speakers, particularly the Polish guests Dr. *Eisenbach* and *Jan Zaborowski,* proved that these plans of annihilation were not designed by the Hitlerite fascists in the course of World War II, but had been ready before that time. This can be proved, for instance, by a memorandum drafted by a certain *Wetzel,* departmental head of the Hitler Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. The plan for the internment of 1.5 million slave labourers from Poland in concentration camps and their employment in Hitler armament factories was drafted before Christmas 1939.

A deep impression was left by the words of a former German legation officier Dr. *Wolfgang Gans Edler zu Putlitz.* Based on his own experience the speaker proved the nazi diplomats' share in the guilt regarding the extermination of Jews. He reported about the criminal activities of many diplomats on the staff of the fascist Foreign Office a large portion of whom are again working as diplomate in the service of the Adenauer state. Each one of these men, the speaker said, had been fully aware at the time as to the extent of barbarism under the fascist regime. *"No Jew or any other citizen was deported either from France, Belgium or any other country unless the Gestapo had made inquiries at the German representation of the Foreign Office in the country concerned whether they had any foreign-political objections against this particular deportation",* Putlitz emphasized. These people used to put up an outward show presenting themselves as very educated and civilized persons and even believed themselves to be such people, in spite of their participation in the crimes. This fact, in particular, shows the internal decay of the imperialist system. The speaker, who as the only member of the Ribbentrop Ministry broke with the fascist regime and emigrated in 1939, concluded by stating that a man attached to this out-dated system should change to the side of the opponents of German imperialism if he desired to remain a decent man.

The discussion may be summed up by stating it was a good start for a lively debate, for instance, on questions of antisemitism and emergency legislation in the Bonn state. The method of allowing a free discussion following each longer speech had proved successful this time as well.

In his concluding remarks Professor *Ernst Engelberg* outlined some aspects of the theoretical conception of barbarism. Being the anti-thesis of humanism, he elaborated, that barbarism denies the equality of all men. It denies man's ability to advance and social progress. This is also connected with social Darwinism and a militarist ideology. Barbarism sets force before right.

We agree with the speaker in calling the two-day conference a success. It supplied ample material on the anti-popular role of the German monopolies. It exposed the barbaric traits of modern imperialism in a number of spheres, such as warfare, ideology etc. Once again co-operation among the specialists of the various branches of social sciences has proved an absolute necessity in order to thoroughly examine the new symptoms of present day state monopoly capitalism.

The results achieved by this conference confirm the necessity of concluding a peace treaty with the two German states during this year. A peace treaty will help the German people to defeat the German militarists and imperialists and to pave the way for peaceful development in West Germany. The existence of the German Democratic Republic, whose significance unfortunately was not stressed sufficiently on this conference, plays an important role because the GDR has proved ever since it was founded that democracy and humanity have now found a safe home in one part of Germany. The conference itself has proved this.

Marta Born
(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik"
No. 9, 1961)

BOOK REVIEW

Case 12 (Fall 12).
The Judgement against the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht

Rütten & Loening, Berlin 1960, 298 pages

From Adenauer to history writing – everything has been attempted in West Germany for the last fifteen years to let the past slip into oblivion, to transform the crimes of nazi politicians, generals, industrialists, blood-judges, concentration camp doctors etc. into heroic deeds. This policy aims at justifying the leading role the old war criminals are playing today in remilitarisation and reârmament and in the implementation of the revenge seeking policy pursued in West Germany.

The fact is that only two verdicts[1] were published in small circulation in West Germany out of 12 cases against war criminals[2], which were brought before the International Military Court following the trial against the main war criminals; this fact forms part of the ideological war preparations. Thus the truth about World War II was completely witheld from the West German population.

In this connection it must be mentioned, that these 12 trials before Allied military courts between 1946 and 1948 were by no means held for the purpose of passing just sentences against the war criminals and the main culprits of the fascist regime. They were held at a time, when US Secretary of State, *Byrnes*, in a speech (held at Stuttgart on September 6th, 1946) already publicly admitted the abolishment of the four agreements on Germany. The Western Zone had been incorporated into the Marshal-Plan and General *Clay* had, in January 1948, submitted to Secretary of State *Marshal*, proposals for the formation of a West German army of 500,000 soldiers.

Between February 5th, and October 28th, 1948, the so-called OKW trial was held before the 5th Military Court of the USA as the last oft he 12 trials. 12 prominent fieldmarshals and generals were involved in it. However, only three of them (*Warlimont*, *Reinecke* and *Lehmann*) had been members of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command. The trials and verdicts already reflected the cold war which is conducted by the US imperialists and in the interest of which they employed the beaten fascist generals for West German remilitarisation.

In spite of the desire of the US-Government and its deputies in Germany, to form a common cause with the war criminals of yesterday, they were forced to punish a number of the most cruel crimes against international and martial law. The victims, the newly liberated peoples, were still insisting on this punishment for the murder and torture of civilians and prisoners of war, on penalties to be passed on the prohibited employment of prisoners of war, on the displacement and enslavement of

1 The trials concerned are the following ones:
- a) Trial against physicians Karl Brandt and others
- b) Milch trial against Field-Marshal-General Erich Milch
- c) Jurists trial against Josef Allstaetter and others
- d) Pohl- and SS trials
- e) Flick trial
- f) IG-Farben trial
- g) South-east generals- or hostage trials
- h) Volkstum trial (Racial- and settlers main office of the SS)
- i) Ohlendorf trial (Service groups-trials)
- j) Krupp trial
- k) Wilhelmstreet trial against Weizsaecker and others
- l) Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht-trial

2 The verdict of the IG-Farben trial, Offenbach 1948; The verdict of the Wilhelmstreet trial, Schwaebisch Gmuend 1950

hundreds of thousands of people and their employment for hard labour inside Hitler Germany, on the illegal execution of soldiers etc.

Particularly such felonious orders as the so-called "Night-and Fog" decree and the "commissar" order, all of which had been issued by *Hitler* himself or the Wehrmacht Supreme Command and which had been pedantically and strictly put into practice by the accused field marshals and generals, had to be made subject of accusations.

The verdict, stating, to what extent the individual defendants were guilty of having committed such and other crimes, illustrates to the reader the whole criminal and cruel conduct of war of the German militarists. This is particularly illustrated by the documentary proof quoted in the verdict. In the report of a corps addressed to accused Field Marshal *Hoth,* dated July 17th, 1941, it says for instance: *"8 Jews and 2 Poles shot as a retaliatory measure for the destruction of telephone lines"* (p. 177). On another page an order is quoted, which was signed by accused Field Marshal *Reinhardt* on May 31st, 1941. In this order it says among other things: *"Every 10th member can be executed if the leader or main culprit cannot be seized"* (p. 194).

Many such quotations from documents contained in the act of indictment as well as the coherent description of the crimes committed by the accused, represent a highly interesting reference material for all interested circles.

The documents not only prove the guilt of the individual accused. Rather they show the crimes committed by the whole of the German militarist system, which already won an infamous reputation in 1870 to 1871 and 1914 to 1918 for its inhuman methods of warfare contrary to martial law. They reached an unprecedented level of murder and destruction in the course of the Second World War. But it must be stressed, that jurisdiction only partly lived up to its tasks. The prosecution proved the guilt of the individual accused of different war crimes, crimes against humanity and civilians. In the first item of the act of indictment: "crime against peace", it says that the accused had committed those crimes by *"participating from the very beginning in the invasion of other countries and in the course of wars of aggression under breach of international law and treaties"* (p. 28).

This point of the indictments was of utmost importance, because in accordance with the demands of the people it made those liable to punishment, who had planned the wars of aggression, issued the orders and put them into practice as holders of responsible positions. However, the court declared: *"On the basis of the contents of the act of indictment we have come to the conclusion, that the accused have not belonged to the political leadership and that they are not liable of having committed a crime punishable under point one of the indictment."* (p. 62).

This verdict, which acquitted all of the accused who in peacetime planned an attack against a country down to the last detail, is typical of the bourgeois interpretation of international law. Since the end of the war it has been employed to justify the acquittal of thousands of high ranking executives of the nazi regime, of officers, diplomats, leaders of military economy, court martial judges etc. Such verdicts make the very same people feel secure today, when, as members of the General Staff of the Bundeswehr, they demand the atomic armament of the so-called shield-forces for the preparation of a new war of aggression. However, if those exponents of German militarism and imperialism of today think they would be once more acquitted of the crimes against peace, then they make a big mistake. In the meantime, the peoples of the world have learnt the lesson from the past.

A reader desiring to use the book in question for scientific or propaganda purposes must always keep in mind, who pronounced this sentence and under what circumstances the trial was held. It is true, the 12 page preface by the publishers contain a generally correct evaluation, pointing out to the reader the false conclusions of the court. But this is insufficient. It would be rather desirable to have next to the basic evaluation a direct argument dealing with those parts of the verdict which can be designated as a miscarriage of judgement.

The fact, that the court acquitted former Field-Marshal-General *Sperrle,* the commander of the "Legion Condor", which in the course of the Spanish civil war committed innumerable crimes against the Spanish population, as "not guilty", is such a striking example for the inadequacy of the proceedings, that it cannot be published without any comments. The first item of the indictment concerns crimes pertaining to the preparations, the start and conduct of wars of aggression infringing upon treaties concluded in conformity with international law. The fascist intervention against Spain was such an example of a breach of international law. In spite of this fact, *Sperrle* was declared to be innocent and set free.

The case of the former Chief of Staff of the Maritime War General Head Quarters *Otto Schniewind* is a similar example. He was also acquitted by a court. A commentary dealing with *Schniewind* written in 1942, may serve as an evaluation of the true role he had been playing: *"During the Polish campaign he was operational chief of the German Baltic fleet, which performed noble deeds near the Westerplatte and Hela ... As a reward for planning of the maritime operations during the occupation of the Norwegian ports and for the employment of the submarine force of which Schniewind was in charge he was decorated with the Ritterkreuz on April 20th, 1940."* Furthermore the Nuremberg main criminals trial has dealt with quite a number of documents, showing that *Schniewind's* unit, the Naval War Headquarters, was one of the most aggressive organs as regards planning and preparations of the Second World War.

Owing to the so-called pardon issued by McCloy, all accused were set free between 1952 and 1953. But most of them had not learnt the lesson from the past.

Von Leeb became member of the managing committee of the so-called "Society for Liberal Military Constitution and Military Politics".

Reinhardt, who had been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in Nuremberg, the man who, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, was celebrated as *"model of the officers of the General Staff"*,[3] by *Walter Goerlitz,* became chairman of the "Society for Military Science". *Salmuth,* who had been sentenced to 20 years prison, was appointed chairman of the "Union of Soldiers" in September 1958. Only in April this year he declared during the yearly meeting of this revenge-seeking organisation: *„Bolshevism is the latent danger and threat to our world, facing us today and tomorrow. Greatest vigilance is imperative, a conscious patriotic spirit, a military attitude and an unshakable psychological armament."*[4]

This makes an argument with them an urgent affair. The lies of "obedience" and "performance of a duty" in the course of a cruel and inhuman warfare and the justification of the wars of aggression, propagated by the former militarists, historians and politicians in West Germany, must be smashed. The publication in question makes an essential contribution towards this end.

However, in case of further publications being contemplated, we deem it necessary, to go more into details when dealing the verdicts which were passed some 15 years ago. Furthermore, the publisher should add critical remarks to the text and comment upon it, and this to render it easier for the reader to cope with the comparatively difficult judicial language, presuming a good knowledge of the history and antecedents of the Second World War. Also references should be given concerning additional literature.

The material, which had been submitted as documentary proof during the proceedings, is far too little known to the public and to research in spite of the fact, that the documents in question could very well help to uncover the whole size of the crime and guilt of German imperialism. Therefore we would welcome it, if Rütten & Loening decided to publish a number of volumes containing selected documents, as a supplement to the volumes containing the verdicts which only contain limited excerpts of the documentary proof.

Gerhart Hass
(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 8, 1961)

3 "Die Welt", Berlin, March 1st 1957

4 "Wehrpolitische Information", Cologne, April 27th 1961

DOCUMENTS

Communiqué issued by the International Scientific Conference on Problems of European Security and the Danger of West German Militarism

From May 23rd, to 27th, 1961, an international scientific conference was held in Prague dealing with problems of European security and the danger of West German militarism.

The conference was convened on the initiative of the International Politics and Economics Institute and the editorial board of the periodical "Mezinarodni politika" (Czechoslovakia). It was sponsored by the World Economics and International Relations Institute and the periodical "Mezhdunarodnaya Shisn" (Soviet Union), by the Polish International Relations Institute and the editorial board of the periodical "Sprawy Miedzynarodowe" (Poland), by the German Institute for Contemporary History and the editorial board of the periodical "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" (German Democratic Republic).

Participants at the conference included scientists from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, Great Britain, France, Italy and Austria.

The opening of the conference was attended by: *Vladimir Koucky,* secretary of the CC of the CPC, Dr. *Jiri Hajek* and *Otto Klicka,* deputy Foreign Ministers of the CSSR, *M. W. Simjanin,* Extraordinary and Authorized Ambassador of the USSR in Prague, Professor *Mihail Mascheganu,* Extraordinary and Authorized Ambassador of the Rumanian People's Republic, *Stanislav Piotrovski,* Chargé d'Affaires of the People's Republic of Poland and by prominent representatives of the Czechoslovak public and press.

The conference received telegrams with greetings from Dr. *Lothar Bolz,* Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic and from *Adam Rapacki,* Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Poland.

The participants of the conference were received by *Vaclav David,* Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR.

Academy Member, *Joseph Macek,* welcomed the conference on behalf on the Czechoslovakian scientists.

The four main speeches on the conference were delivered by the heads of the delegations, their subjects being: "European Security and atomic armament in the German Federal Republic" by *A. A. Arsumanjan,* corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR;

"West German revanchism – a menace to peace in Europe" by Professor *W. Bartel* (GDR);

"The importance of disarmament for guaranteeing security in Europe" by *O. Dluski,* member of the Central Committe of the Polish United Workers' Party, winner of the International Lenin-Prize for Peace;

"Peaceful co-existence – the only way to reach security in Europe, by university lecturer Dr. *V. Sojak* (CSSR)).

The guiding principles of the speeches were discussed in a comprehensive debate. The results of the conference were summed up by Dr. *Jiri Hajek,* deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR.

The work of the conference and its results confirm the growing danger to world peace and security of the peoples arising from Ger-

man militarism. In the German Federal Republic, the forces demanding territorial changes in Europe for the benefit of West German imperialism have become extremely active. The militarization of West Germany has entered a new stage characterized by the fact that the militarists now openly demand atomic weapons and their manufacture in the German Federal Republic. Responsible for such a course of events are in the first place the imperialist circles in the US – the economic, political and military main force of modern capitalism.

The deeply anti-communist American "policy of strength" against the socialist countries, against the national liberation movement and the labour movement prevents the implementation of peaceful co-existence, the relaxation of international tension and the termination of the cold war. The imperialist circles in the US cherish such reactionary and unrealistic ideas as the "liberation" of the socialist states of Europe with the aid of the West German revanchists and the restoration of the power of the imperialists in these countries. The ruling circles of Great Britain, France and other members of the North Atlantic Block ignore the experience of history and support this policy. West German militarism uses the NATO to implement its own revanchist aims. The conference documents have established convincing proof that the revanchist policy pursued by the German Federal Republic is directed against the socialist countries. This can be proved by the numerous provocations of the revanchists which are supported by the Government of the German Federal Republic. West German revanchism is also directed against the other European countries.

Under the new conditions characterized by the growing preponderance of the forces in favour of socialism and peace there emerged favourable possibilities for guaranteeing European security. Proceeding from this assumption, the conference dealt with problems of peaceful co-existence applied to the conditions prevailing in Europe – in connection with the programme of general and complete disarmament as submitted by the Soviet Union, and the prospects for European security. The conference stressed the absolute necessity of concluding a peace treaty with the two German states as the most important means for eliminating the vestiges of the second World War and thereby of the potential source of war in Europe, and the solution of the West Berlin problem.

Of great importance for European security would be the realization of the proposal submitted by the People's Republic of Poland for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe.

The ruling circles in Bonn, the sworn enemies of peaceful co-existence and a European relaxation of tension, act against the vital interests of the German people by conjuring up the danger of a destructive nuclear and rocket war. The struggle against West German imperialism is therefore in the interest of the entire German people. The peace-loving forces which expose West German militarism and resist its adventurous policy, fight for the development of normal and friedly relations with the German people.

The work of this conference has proved convincingly that the efforts made by securing peace in Europe are the most important ingredient of the consistent peace-loving policy pursued by all socialist countries.

An important role in the realization of this policy is assigned to the German Democratic Republic, the first Workers' and Farmers' State in the history of Germany. The unity, unanimity and strength of the socialist camp are a reliable protection for the integrity of its interests, of the rights and security of all European nations.

The participants of the conference consider it as essential to carry out further thorough investigations of the problems connected with the danger of German militarism and revanchism. In this connection the wish was expressed to establish a close scientific co-operation with scientists of the countries of the European West. Such co-operation would promote further rapprochement of the European peoples for the consolidation of peaceful co-existence and security of the peoples of Europe.

(From: "Deutsche Aussenpolitik" No. 7, 1961)

Dr. Lucie Haupt

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